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Political Royalty

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April 2016

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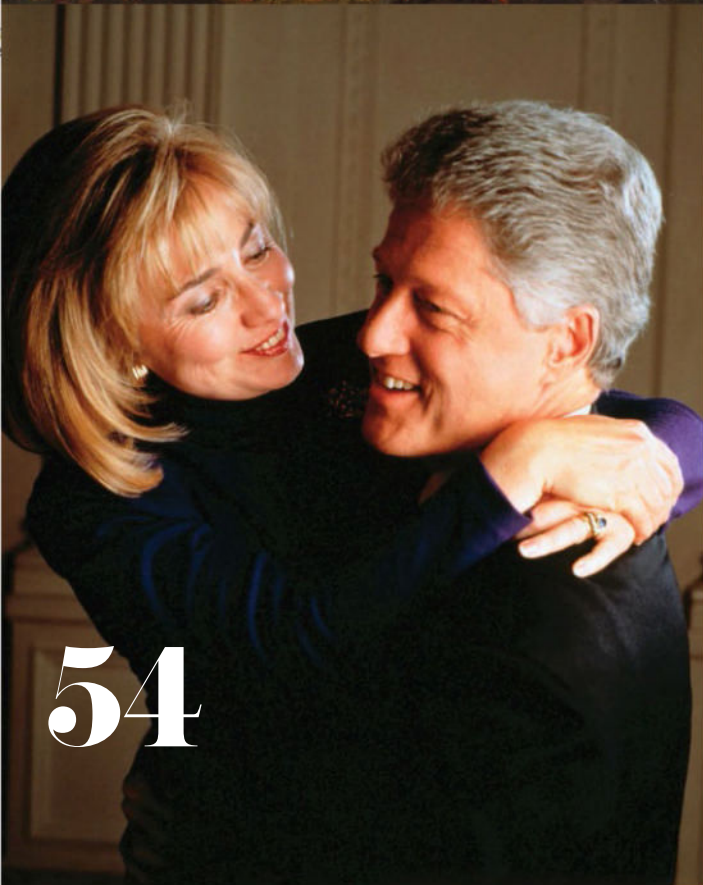


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April 2016

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When the King Came Calling

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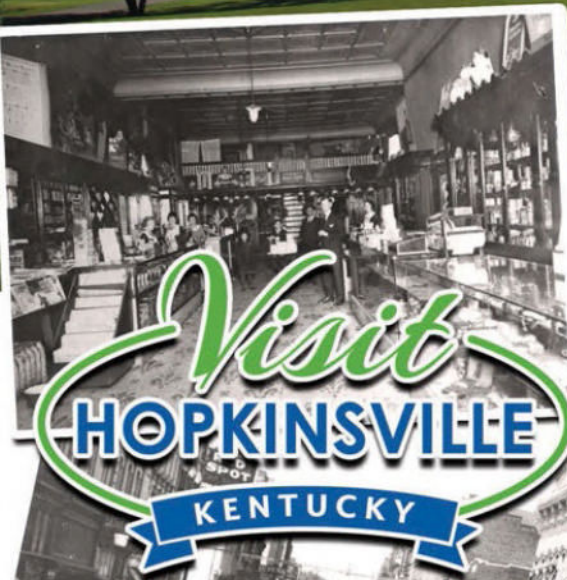


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With famous Hopkinsville Natives, from clairvoyant **Edgar Cayce** to ground-breaking journalist **Theodore Poston** and historic sites like the **Trail of Tears Commemorative Park** and a recreated 1800's mining town, **Copper Canyon Ranch**, there is plenty of history to explore in Christian County!



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Just How Conservative?

Regarding your February cover “Too Conservative?” and article on Ronald Reagan by the fine H. W. Brands: What is conservative about tripling the national debt? What is conservative about selling arms to our archenemy, Iran, just a few years after 60 Americans were held in captivity in Tehran for 15 months? I tell you, it’s a topsy-turvy world.

Robert Dulin

Charlotte, N.C.

Bloomberg: Big Government Liberal

In Richard Brookhiser’s article in February’s issue, “In the Hall of the Patriot King,” he claims Michael Bloomberg is “nominally Republican,” which is patently untrue. Bloomberg is a big government liberal. If your magazine is going to claim to be a re-teller of history, then you need to ensure truthfulness and accuracy and avoid trying to paint authors’ opinions as historical truth.

Terrence R. Wall

Madison, Wis.

Less Sin, More Beacon

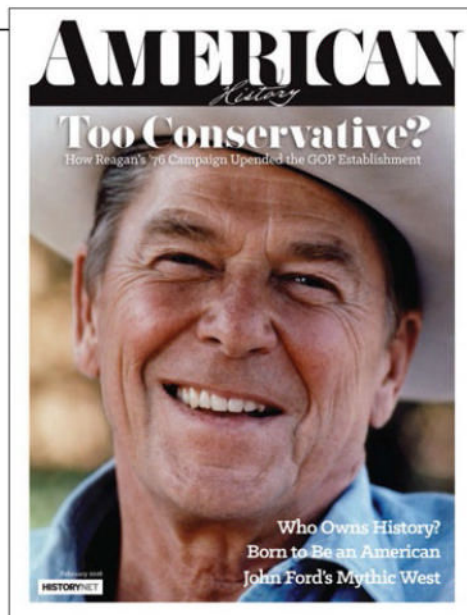
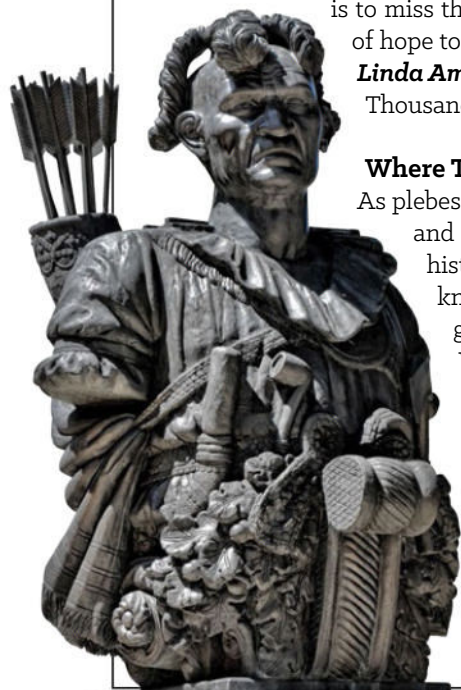
I love America and I especially love American history, but I wish your articles would look beyond racial injustice, moral hypocrisy, and suspicion of what you call “far right” conservatives—subjects that have been endlessly explored in recent years in any newspaper or at any American university—and see what was unique and wonderful about our land. If this country was so bad, why did immigrants around the world flock to our shores, and still do so? From the Puritans to the Founding Fathers, there was a wonderful ideal, rooted in the Christian spirit of self-discipline, hard work and frugality, brotherhood and equality that animated our forefathers in creating this great democratic republic. To emphasize America’s sins is to miss the greatness that has made it a beacon of hope to people around the world.

Linda Ames

Thousand Oaks, Calif.

Where Tammany Still Stands

As plebes at the Naval Academy, my classmates and I learned—memorized actually—the history of the statue of Tecumseh, also known as the God of 2.0 (the passing grade at the academy in those days). With regard to “Un-Erasing Tammany” (February), the original “statue” of Tammany was the figurehead of the USS *Delaware*, recovered from the ship after it had been sunk in the Civil War. The wooden figurehead suffered the ravages of time until the Class of 1891 commissioned the bronze replica that today stands at the entrance to Tecumseh Court. The



statue is the recipient of many left-handed salutes and pennies during final exams.

Doug Peterson

USNA, 1964

Onalaska, Wis.

History or Indoctrination?

Your editorial response in February’s issue to Dave Beadles’ letter about an item in the Mosaic department (“Past Present”) would be laughable if it were not so sad. My observation is that your publication has slid from an enjoyable “history” magazine into one of lightly veiled (or sometimes totally unveiled) politically intolerant group-think “indoctrination.” Whether the subject *du mois* is slavery, climate change or equal rights, the theme of each issue is less on history and more on your chosen path for us.

Howard Burdick

McKinney, Texas

From the editors: Our Mosaic department reflects the current news coverage of events, activities and research related to history. No matter how unpleasant or controversial some of that history may be, there can be no denying that facts and events of the past impact our present and future. Our aim is to provide readers with authoritative insights into our history that inform and entertain.

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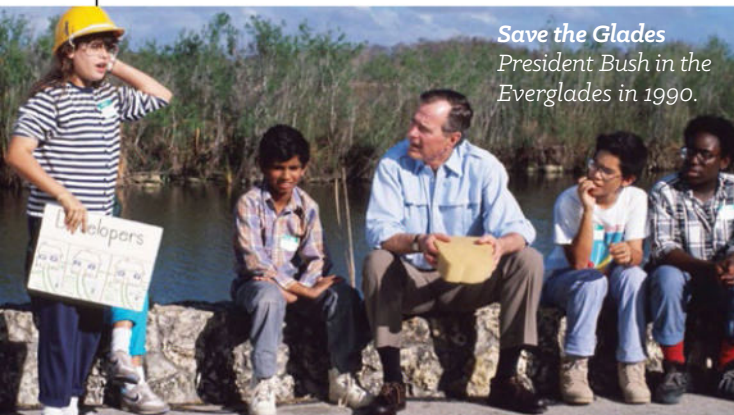
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Climate science: Who knew what when



Save the Glades
President Bush in the
Everglades in 1990.

On December 12, 2015, 195 countries entered into an historic agreement to address the global problem of climate change by curbing fossil fuel emissions. Anyone trying to understand the history of U.S. climate change policy will be helped by several recent studies highlighting viewpoints within the U.S. government at the highest levels and the private sector.

In December researchers at the National Security Archive at the George Washington University published a number of recently unclassified documents from the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations. A State Department memo dated February 15, 1989, mentions “a growing awareness that the combination of rapidly

growing human populations and their quest for economic development is for the first time threatening to cause irreversible destruction of natural resources and unprecedented changes in the global climate system itself.”

Federal scientists were not the only investigators making the case for dire warming. Scientists working for Exxon had been conducting their own research on environmental impact of burning fossil fuels. Journalists at *Inside Climate News* and the *Los Angeles Times* recently reported that Exxon scientists had warned of the impending problems as early as 1977—even distributing a 46-page corporate primer on the topic in 1982—yet in the following decades oil companies loudly undermined the legitimacy of the science on climate change.

The advocacy group Union of Concerned Scientists also investigated the fossil-fuel industry influence on climate science and concluded that there was a coordinated campaign “to deceive the American public by distorting the realities and risks of climate change, sometimes acting directly and sometimes acting indirectly through trade associations and front groups.” For example, in 1991 an internal strategy memo of a group called the Information Council on the Environment stated: “Reposition global warming as theory (not fact).” Another document, dated September 4, 2006, is a letter to Exxon from the Royal Society, the U.K.’s scientific association, asking why 39 groups offering misinformation on climate science were supported by Exxon funding.

Read the government documents at: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu>. For additional reporting on the climate change controversy go to www.insideclimatenews.org.



Preserved
The 1979 comedy-drama *Being There* was based on the novel by Jerzy Kosinski and directed by Hal Ashby. It was the last film featuring Peter Sellers that was released before his death in 1980. At right, a scene from Edison's epic, *The Sneeze*.



Library of Congress Selects 25 Films for Preservation

Ghostbusters, *LA Confidential*, *Being There* and *The Shawshank Redemption*, as well as Thomas Edison's five-second movie *The Sneeze* (1894) and the six-minute hallucinogenic *Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906) were among the 25 selections named to the Library of Congress' National Film Registry. To nominate a film for 2016: www.loc.gov/programs/national-film-preservation-board/film-registry/nominate/.

Alabama's Historic Gulf Coast

Standing atop the fort with a view of the once embattled Mobile Bay, you can almost hear the command of Admiral David Farragut as he led his troops into battle, "Damn the torpedoes. Full speed ahead!"

Voyage through time and revisit an era of adventure and bravery aboard the USS Alabama, or walk in a soldier's footsteps and experience day-to-day life at Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines. Further exploration awaits at the area's many museums that recall the Native American history, medical history and railroads that feature prominently in the Gulf Coast's historical landscape. Learn more at www.GulfShores.com.



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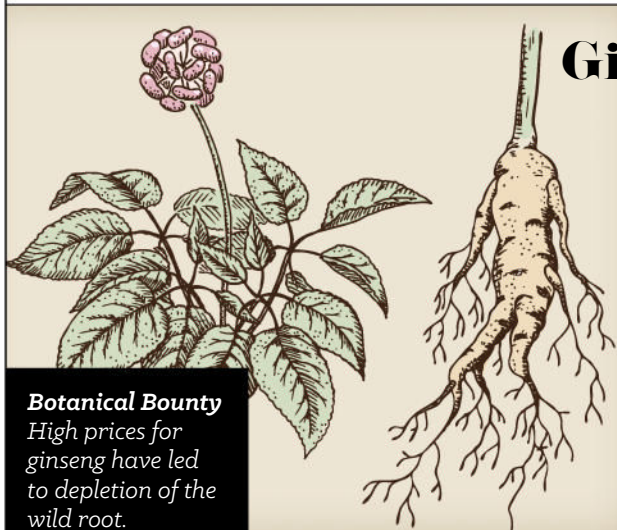
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Lincoln's Wise Words Command Record Price

“With malice toward none, with charity for all... to do all which may achieve, and cherish a just, and a lasting peace...” impart President Lincoln’s hopes for healing the war-torn country. The famous passage from his second inaugural address, penned and autographed by the commander-in-chief in March 1865, sold at auction for \$2.3 million. The 80-word segment was inscribed inside a book that belonged to the family of Lincoln’s secretary of the interior, John Palmer Usher, and was likely given to Usher’s 10-year-old son Linton J. Usher. It sold for more than double its pre-auction estimate to an anonymous purchaser.

Five years after the Battle of Little Big Horn in Montana, U.S. Army doctor Charles McChesney asked Lakota Sioux chief Red Horse to draw his memories of the 1876 debacle. A dozen of those 42 drawings will be on display at Stanford University, from January 16 to May 9 at the school's Cantor Arts Center. Red Horse, who was living at the time on a reservation in South Dakota, drew tableaus 2 feet high by 3 feet long on the large-format manila paper used in bank ledgers.

Coca-Cola's
 iconic bottle
 debuted in 1916,
 following a 1915
 corporate contest to
 create a distinctive
 shape not easily
 copied by
 competitors. The
 winning design
 was slightly
 fatter around
 the middle
 than other
 bottles and
 distinctively
 striped, like
 the wide
 ridges on a
 cacao pod.
 The first artist
 to incorporate
 a Coke into a
 painting was not
 Andy Warhol
 but Salvador
 Dali in a 1943
 work called
 "Poetry of
 America."



Ginseng Farmers Get Help

For more than 300 years American ginseng has been a prize export to China, but the Asian appetite for the root has rendered the plant endangered in the wild. In September American ginseng growers got a boost from a program sponsored by the Agriculture Department that will certify their product as authentic and sustainably grown, according to U.S. News.com. The program will promote sales of cultivated ginseng to relieve pressure on wild sources. Ginseng takes 3-5 years to grow, and the most valued roots—worth more than \$500—are over 10 years old.

1847 Philadelphia Freedom Fighter Pardoned

On November 2, 2015, Delaware governor Jack Markell pardoned Samuel Burris, a free black Philadelphian who had been caught and convicted in 1847 of helping slaves escape. According to the Associated Press, Burris' posthumous pardon was the result of appeals by Robert Seeley, a descendant of Quaker Thomas Garrett, one of Burris's Underground Railroad collaborators. A marker honoring Burris was also erected near where he grew up in Kent County, Delaware.

Although Burris' conviction required that he be auctioned and held in bondage for seven years, anti-slavery activists sent a representative to buy Burris' freedom.

Pardoned
Ocea Thomas
with a portrait
of her ancestor
Samuel Burris.



Williamsburg Church Bell Rings after 50 Years

In 1776, a group of African Americans—free and enslaved—founded a clandestine church that survives today as the

First Baptist Church in Colonial Williamsburg. Throughout the month of February 2016 a project called Let Freedom Ring! will invite the public to stand in line to ring the recently restored 500-pound church bell, which has not been rung for more than half a century. According to Mitchell Reiss, president and CEO of the Colonial

Williamsburg Foundation, the project was born of the church's long history of survival and perseverance: "It all came together with an idea that we would be able to fix the bell in the belfry so it could be rung safely and challenge everyone at this time of racial turmoil and division in the country to stand in line and ring the bell. It is a call to faith traditionally, but also a call to action, a call to form a more perfect union."

Reiss added, "This is the beginning of a new chapter at Colonial Williamsburg in terms of African American programming that will carry on."



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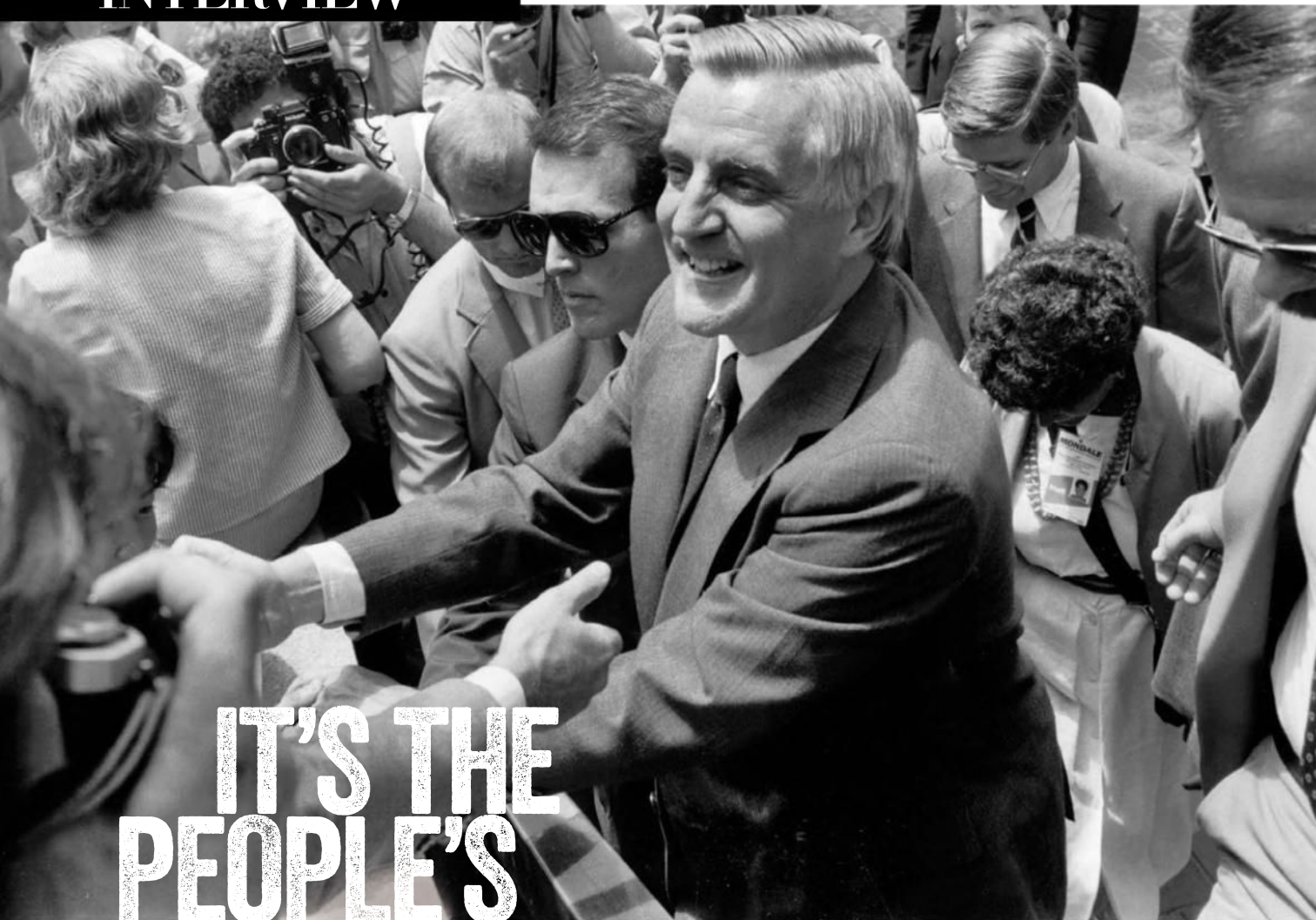
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Rating A+



IT'S THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE

BY RICHARD ERNSBERGER JR.

Former veep Walter S. Mondale's view on campaigns, debates and primaries



WITH FORMER GEORGIA GOVERNOR

Jimmy Carter at the top of the ticket, Walter Mondale, a 12-year senator from Minnesota, was elected vice president of the United States in 1976, and ran for reelection in 1980 against the Republicans Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. As the 1984 Democratic candidate for president, Mondale made history when he chose Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate—the first woman to run for vice president on a major party ticket. Mondale lost the election to incumbent President Ronald Reagan. From 1993 to 1996 he served as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. Today he is senior counsel for the law

Race is On

Mondale greets supporters at the 1984 Democratic Convention. He went on to lose in a landslide to President Reagan.

firm Dorsey & Whitney and a keen observer of the unfolding 2016 presidential race.

How have political campaigns changed since you ran for president?

There have been some good changes and bad changes. Digital media, new since I ran, offers citizens a much easier way to do research, to get new knowledge and to communicate. However, the advent of the *Citizens United* case has dangerously tipped the scales in favor of our richest citizens, bending the process toward big money and, sadly, reducing public trust in the process.

Every national election has its grassroots challengers. Do upstarts tend to share any unique qualities?

I believe an open political process that invites new candidates into the race is crucial. It allows the public to hear the issues, to watch the candidates as they handle challenges.

Moreover, as in Jimmy Carter's case, the new challenger became president. New challengers may or may not have special insights, but they have to prove themselves too.

We hear a lot about the Bush and Clinton "family dynasties." Some say familiarity with a big job is an advantage, others say dynasties are a bad thing. What's your view?

I think candidates from so-called family dynasties should be allowed to press their case. Whether they make it depends on them and their policy positions. They may find that this status might help or hurt them. We will see what happens.

Is the primary system broken? Some say the early ones are too influential and the process quickly becomes anticlimactic.

I spent a lot of my public life in Iowa and New Hampshire. I admire what those states do for our country, but I believe the "first states" status should be handed around and not held by the same states. This would take a lot of work, but I think that Iowa and New Hampshire as "first states" present some problems. Neither has a significant minority population, and the South and the West are left out. And New Hampshire allows so-called independents to vote in either of the parties' primaries, permitting adversaries of one political party to cross over and cause undeserved trouble for the candidates of the other party. Also, after years of nomination battles in

these first states, persons in those states develop ways to manipulate the candidates. I remember candidates telling me that they had to pay disproportionate rents for signs posted at Democratic events. Pressure to hire local talent can limit the quality of a candidate's choices. Once a state is picked for the special status of a first deciding state (Iowa and New Hampshire) and when they have had experience with that unique status, demands are made on the candidates—for speaking dates and other decisions, and even though nothing is said, the requests carry special weight. The people making the requests might affect the outcome of the caucuses or the primary.

You got a boost from your 1984 debate zinger aimed at Gary Hart—"Where's the beef?" But do debates really help voters?

I think the debates are crucial—that's why millions have been watching them. They inform the public. Most political rhetoric is contrived, written or structured in advance. These debates often lead to unprotected moments when the public might learn something important. We need the debates, and we should continue to think about how they, their participants and their formats can best serve the purpose of public education.

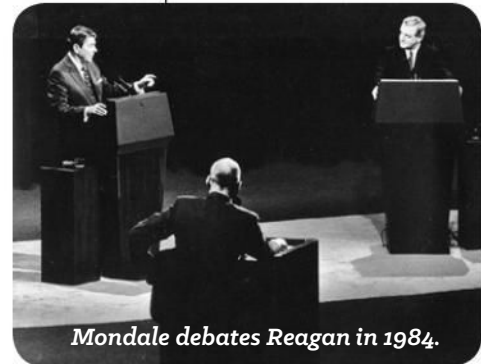
We hear that "the best and the brightest" don't get into politics anymore—that it is an ugly business coarsened by big money. Do you agree?

We often do get the best and the brightest—Barack Obama, Bill Clinton, Jimmy Carter, for example. They are brilliant, as have been many other presidents. But big money especially is undermining the integrity of the public process and posing enormous risks to the honesty of the electoral process. Reform is desperately needed.

What did you like most—and least—about campaigning for president?

I loved being around people and friends and having my one big chance to make my case to the American people, and I hated to raise money. ★

I THINK THE DEBATES ARE CRUCIAL—



Mondale debates Reagan in 1984.

THAT'S WHY MILLIONS HAVE BEEN WATCHING THEM. IT IS REALLY THE ONLY TIME IN THESE CAMPAIGNS WHEN THE PUBLIC MIGHT LEARN SOMETHING.

Female First Representative Geraldine Ferraro was Mondale's running mate on the 1984 ticket.





STROM THURMOND MEETS HIS DAUGHTER

BY PETER CARLSON

South Carolina's spiteful white supremacist senator had a soft spot for his secret Black daughter

HE WAS 23. SHE WAS 15. HE WAS WHITE and rich. She was black and poor. He was Strom Thurmond, son of a powerful lawyer in Edgefield, S.C. She was Carrie Butler, a part-time maid in the Thurmond house. Carrie was pretty, and Strom, a handsome schoolteacher, flirted with her as she went about her work in his parents' house.

"One thing led to another," as Butler later put it, and on October 12, 1925, she gave birth to Thurmond's first child, a girl she named Essie Mae. To avoid scandal, Carrie sent Essie to live with her sister, Mary Washington, in Pennsylvania.

Mary Washington and her husband raised the girl as their daughter. Essie Mae Washington didn't learn who her real mother was until she was 13, when Carrie Butler, visiting her sister, blurted out the truth: "I'm your mother."

But Essie Mae had no knowledge about her father's identity until three years later, in 1941, when she traveled to Edgefield to attend a family funeral. It was her first trip to South Carolina, her first exposure to segregated trains and "whites only" drinking fountains.

Carrie woke Essie Mae early on the morning after the funeral. "Get up and get dressed," she

said. "I'm taking you to meet your father."

In their finest dresses, Carrie and Essie Mae walked past the shacks of Edgefield's black ghetto and into the white side of town. Maybe her father worked as a butler for a rich white family, Essie Mae thought. When they arrived at a building with a sign reading, "Thurmond and Thurmond, Attorneys at Law," Essie Mae figured her father must be a chauffeur for a big-shot white lawyer. When a black servant opened the door, she thought he was her father. But he merely led them to an empty office, where they waited in silence.

A few minutes later, Thurmond, a 38-year-old lawyer and judge, stepped into the room and stared at Essie Mae. "You have a lovely young daughter," he told Carrie.

Carrie smiled. "Essie Mae," she said, "meet your father."

Stunned, she could barely speak. "Hello...Mister...Thurmond."

"What do you think of our beautiful city?" he asked her.

"It's different from my home."

"This is your home, Essie Mae," he said. "You must think of yourself as a South Carolinian. This is a wonderful city, a wonderful state." South Carolina is called the Palmetto State, he told her. "Do you know what a palmetto is?"

"No, sir."

"It's a small palm tree," he said, and he pointed to a circle on the wall. "This is our state seal. See the palmetto growing out of that fallen oak? That represents our great victory, from a fort built of palmetto logs, over the British fleet built of oak. That Latin phrase there—*Quis Separabit*—do you know what that means?"

"No, sir."

"Take a guess, Essie Mae."

Carrie laughed. "Your father used to be a schoolteacher," she explained.

Thurmond put his hand on Essie Mae's shoulder. "It means, 'Who can separate us?'"

Recalling that moment in her memoir, *Dear Senator*, Essie Mae wrote: "I took the comment personally and was deeply flattered by it."

Thurmond translated another Latin phrase on the seal, then offered some advice: "You

must learn Latin, Essie Mae. It'll help you with a lot of things."

He pulled out two chairs for his guests. When his hand brushed across Carrie's hand, he held it there for a moment, and Essie Mae watched as her parents gazed into each other's eyes. "They were in love, clearly in love," Essie Mae concluded. "In that split second, I could tell what was going on, and it was as strange to me as seeing aliens from another galaxy."

The moment passed and Thurmond brought up one of his favorite topics—physical fitness. He studied Essie Mae's body. "I would stay just as you are, not another pound more," he said. "Be careful of that fried food, no matter how good it tastes. It can kill you. And drink plenty of water, at least three big glasses a day. And walk everywhere you can."

"He used to be a coach, too," Carrie said, and Thurmond laughed.

In their hour together, Thurmond did most of the talking, sitting behind his massive oak desk, delivering little lectures on local history and national politics. Finally Carrie said, "I know you've got important work to do."

He saw them to the door and shook their hands—"the strongest, bone-crushing handshake I had ever experienced," Essie Mae wrote. Then he took another long look at his daughter. "She has my sister Gertrude's cheekbones," he told Carrie. "Isn't she a lovely girl? You have a lovely daughter." Essie Mae appreciated the compliment but wished he'd said, "We have a lovely daughter." She noticed that he'd never actually said that he was her father—and that he didn't invite her to return.

On their walk back to the black side of town, Carrie told her daughter about her ongoing affair with Thurmond.

"Does he love you?" Essie Mae asked.

"I hope so," Carrie said. "I think so."

"Do you love him?"

"Yes."

"Does he have a wife?"

"No."

"What can we do?"

"Nothing," Carrie responded. "This is South Carolina."

Five years later, in 1947, Thurmond became governor of South Carolina and married a young white beauty queen. In 1948, incensed at President Truman's civil rights bill, Thurmond ran for president on the States Rights

Party ticket, proclaiming: "There's not enough troops in the Army, to force the Southern people to break down segregation and admit the Negro race into our theatres, into our swimming pools, into our houses and into our churches." (He did not mention our beds.)

Thurmond lost that race. But in 1954 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, and he remained there until 2003, when he was 100 years old. In 1957 he set a Senate filibustering record by orating for 24 hours and 18 minutes against a civil rights bill. He also filibustered against the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act, and when President Lyndon Johnson signed that bill into law, Thurmond deserted the Democratic Party and endorsed Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, who voted against the bill.

Throughout his long career, Thurmond maintained a guarded relationship with his black daughter. He met with Essie Mae frequently, usually in his office, and they occasionally argued about race and politics. Thurmond put her through college and helped to support her family for decades, handing her envelopes containing \$100 bills—more than \$100,000 over half a century. But he never publicly acknowledged that they were kin.

After he died in 2003, Essie Mae Washington-Williams, then 78, a retired Los Angeles schoolteacher, revealed their kinship, and Thurmond's white family confirmed it.

"I believed that he loved me," she wrote in her 2005 memoir. But still, she long lamented that their relationship was warped by her father's political ambitions and the racial codes that ruled in the Old South.

"He and I had never so much as sat down together for a meal. We had never said 'I love you' to each other. We had never confronted the reality of our relationship. Too much remained unsaid." ★

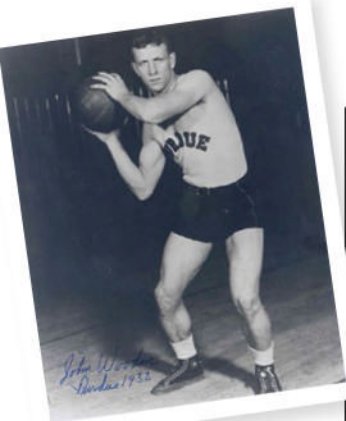
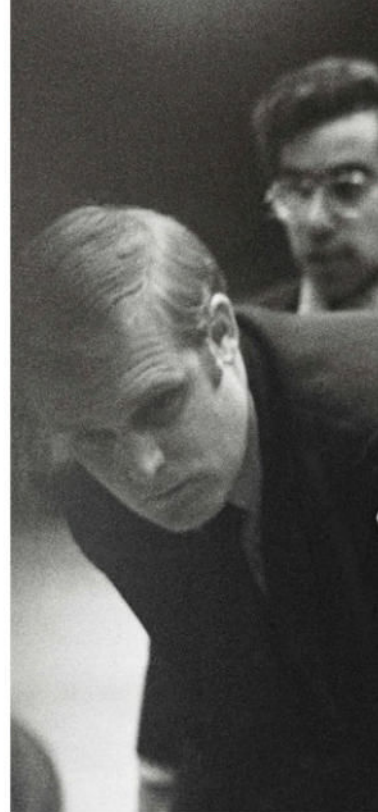
IN THEIR HOUR TOGETHER, THURMOND DID MOST OF THE TALKING, SITTING BEHIND HIS MASSIVE OAK DESK, DELIVERING LITTLE LECTURES ON LOCAL HISTORY AND NATIONAL POLITICS.



MARCH INTO MADNESS

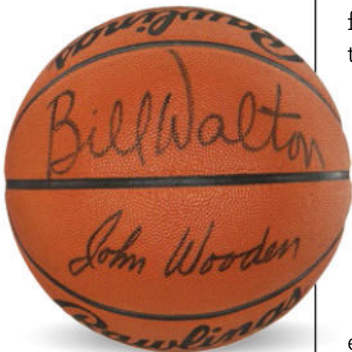
BY ALLEN BARRA

John Wooden led his UCLA Bruins to seven straight national championships and the NCAA to a pot of gold



Westwood's Wizard

John Wooden was the first to enter the Basketball Hall of Fame as both a player and coach. Among the stars he shaped at UCLA was Bill Walton.



JOHN ROBERT WOODEN'S FIRST LOVE

was baseball, but he found himself swept up in the passion for "Basket Ball," as it was then spelled, in the nation's heartland. Born in 1910 in Martinsville, Ind., Wooden as a young man absorbed the fundamentals of the game as conceived by Dr. James Naismith, basketball's inventor. Naismith's influence on college and high school coaches, especially in Indiana, is difficult to overstate.

Naismith coached Ward "Piggy" Lambert who as a coach at Purdue passed on the teachings of Naismith to Wooden when he was a student and outstanding player there.

After college Wooden himself became a coach—a one-of-a-kind coach. Over his 29-year career, first at Indiana State (1946-1948) and then at UCLA (1948-1975), Wooden won 664 of 826 games—more than 80 percent. In the 12 seasons from 1964 to 1975, his UCLA Bruins won 10 NCAA championships, seven straight from 1967 to 1973. Four of his championship teams were undefeated; three others lost only one game. The Bruins were unbeaten from 1971 into the 1974 season, a surreal winning streak of 88 consecutive victories.

Wooden wasn't just a Hall of Fame coach. His astounding run of success at UCLA helped popularize the game of college basketball and turn it into a national sport. In particular, the Bruins sparked interest in the end-of-season NCAA tournament, whose annual winner is crowned the nation-

al champion. Prior to the 1950s the National Invitation Tournament (NIT) was more prestigious than the NCAA. The NIT had 12 teams and was based in New York City. The NCAA was a small tournament with eight teams, one from each of eight geographic areas. That format meant that if there were multiple top teams from within one region, some of the country's best teams wouldn't be included. But in the early 1950s the NCAA changed its format, expanded its tournament to 16 teams, and demanded "first choice" of teams.

That move was a boost for the NCAA, and then in the 1960s it got two more fillips. One was the emergence of UCLA as a national powerhouse, and the other was television. The "game of the century" between UCLA and Houston in 1968 was the first regular season NCAA contest to be broadcast nationally. It attracted a vast audience and proved a huge boon to the sport. The following year, NBC became the first major network to broadcast nationally the NCAA championship game, which was won by the UCLA juggernaut.

Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Wooden's greatest player, once said to me: "Ask yourself where the NCAA tournament was in 1963, when UCLA won the first of two straight titles. The NCAA tournament really wasn't any bigger than, say, the NIT, but those two seasons brought everyone's attention to the NAAs because a super team was in it. That's when I first seriously thought about going to UCLA." By the time



Abdul-Jabbar had completed his three title seasons with UCLA (1967-69), the game had firmly established a national audience. "Nobody talked about the NIT any more," said Abdul-Jabbar. "They talked about the NAAs, and when they talked about the NAAs, they talked about John Wooden and the UCLA Bruins."

And in subsequent years the NCAA tournament steadily grew. It expanded to 32 teams in 1975, 48 in 1980, 64 in 1985 and 68 in 2011, along the way becoming the sporting extravaganza known as March Madness, with TV ratings second only to the National Football League and delivering more than \$1 billion annually in TV ad revenue.

The harshest critics of Wooden were sportswriters who felt UCLA's hegemony hurt college basketball. Prior to the 1973 tournament, Glenn Dickey of the *San Francisco Chronicle* called the Bruins too dominant—a "blight" on the sport. "UCLA makes everybody play for second place. When you take the suspense out of the sport, there's really nothing left."

That's not the way fans felt. Biographer Seth Davis (*Wooden: A Coach's Life*) counters that the Bruins propelled the sport. In 1973 NBC convinced the NCAA to move the championship game from its traditional weekend to Monday night—the biggest TV-viewing night of the week. The previous year's final between UCLA and Florida State had generated a rating of 16, meaning it was watched in approximately 10 million homes by 30 million people. The

ratings for the 1973 Monday night game were 30 percent higher. Wrote Davis: "The NCAA tournament has never been more popular, more watched and more valuable. UCLA wasn't the biggest reason for that. It was the only reason....UCLA was the only school in America that could garner consistent national television exposure for regular season games. Everyone in the sport benefited from its popularity."

Wooden may not have been the saintly figure many believed him to be. It was learned that a UCLA booster named Sam Gilbert operated behind the scenes at the program during the Wooden years, distributing favors and gifts to Bruins players. An NCAA investigation found violations that resulted in penalties for the school, but they were not announced until two years after Wooden retired in 1975.

His team has also lost some of its luster: UCLA is no longer the college basketball behemoth it was during the Wooden years. The Bruins have won only one national title since Wooden left, in 1995, but then there is much more parity among teams in the sport nowadays. Still, the national champion every year is awarded the Wooden NCAA Trophy. In 2009, a year before John Wooden's death at age 99, a *Sporting News* poll named him the best coach in the history of American sports. Admirers of Casey Stengel (seven World Series rings), Bear Bryant (six national titles), and Vince Lombardi (five NFL championships) may protest, but Wooden's record is hard to dispute. ★

Number 1!

Wooden's Bruins won 10 national titles over 12 seasons, including three with Abdul-Jabbar as his center. UCLA won 88 consecutive games during the 1971-74 seasons.



Class Act

Kevin Love with coach Wooden after UCLA won the 2007 Wooden Classic tournament.

RUSSIA: OUR ETERNAL ENEMY?

BY RICHARD BROOKHISER

As tension over Syria and ISIS escalates, America and Russia renew their two-century quest for the answer: can we ever be friends?

IN 2012 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE MITT Romney called Russia “our number-one geopolitical foe....Who is it that always stands up for the world’s worst actors? It’s always Russia.” President Obama mocked him, saying the Cold War “has been over for 20 years.” Yet soon Russia began acting more aggressively than at any time since the Cold War. In 2014 it supported rebels in eastern Ukraine and seized Crimea. In 2015 it intervened in the Syrian civil war, bombing the enemies of its longtime ally Syrian president Bashar al-Assad.

A new crop of presidential candidates took note. Marco Rubio accused Russian president Vladimir Putin of “trying to reverse...the destruction of the Soviet Union,” and called for a no-fly zone over Syria. Hillary Clinton

agreed: “Putin is playing a very dangerous and cynical game. He’s clearly doing everything he can” to establish “a Russian presence in Syria and the broader Middle East.” Donald Trump took a different view—“If Russia wants to go into Syria and bomb the hell out of ISIS, I’m sort of OK with that”—but added, “We have to do it, too.” Rubio and Clinton saw Russia as a threat, Trump saw it as a possible partner in the war on terror, but all three acknowledged its muscular role in the world.

America has been mindful of Russia for two centuries, as ally, enemy, or weird mirror image: the master, like the United States, of its own continent. In his 1835 *Democracy in America* Alexis de Tocqueville made a prediction about the two countries: “Each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.” As the world has shrunk, the two hemispheric powers have become prickly almost-neighbors.

Russian-American relations were at their smoothest in the 19th century. The United States was preoccupied with unity (the Civil War) and manifest destiny (reaching the Pacific and settling the frontier). Russia, though entangled in European politics, had its own manifest destiny in central Asia and Siberia. On the rare occasions that Russian and American interests intersected, the two countries used each other as allies of convenience.

In June 1812 the United States declared war on Britain. In September Tsar Alexander I offered to mediate. He sensed that both countries were reluctant to fight: Britain was struggling with Napoleon, and there was in the United States a large peace party. Alexander thought a neutral go-between might be able to facilitate “an amicable arrangement.” The

Tale of Two Vlags

A century ago it was Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin who had Americans worried. Today it is an ever aggressive Vladimir Putin who is shaking things up.



WORLD HISTORY ARCHIVE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

FROM FRIEND TO FOE



1812 Tsar Alexander I offered—to no avail—to help broker a diplomatic solution to the war between Great Britain and the United States.



1867 Russia's sale of Alaska to the United States had a geo-strategic component by limiting further British expansion.



1905 Teddy Roosevelt earned his Nobel Peace Prize by bringing Japan and Russia together to end their war over China.



1991 An attempted hard-liner coup presaged the Soviet collapse, giving hope that the Russian bear might finally be declawed.

United States took him up on his offer and sent diplomats to St. Petersburg. Although Britain turned the tsar down, it opened direct negotiations with the United States in Ghent.

In 1863 another tsar, Alexander II, made another friendly wartime gesture. The Civil War was at its height, and Britain and France, the major European powers, seemed to favor a brokered peace. In September Russia's Baltic fleet paid a courtesy visit to New York City—a symbolic vote of confidence in the Union cause. At a ball for the fleet the band played “Yankee Doodle” and “God Save the Tsar,” while Gideon Welles, secretary of the Navy, wrote, “God bless the Russians” in his diary.

Neither move was dictated by pure friendship. During the Napoleonic Wars Russia, no less than the United States, chafed at Britain's efforts to control the trade of neutral countries; a Russian official told John Quincy Adams, the American ambassador, that he looked to the United States as a “great commercial state” that could act as a counterweight to the British. In 1863 Russia was still smarting from its defeat by Britain and France in the Crimean War (1853-56) and was further irked by their recent criticisms of its policies in occupied Poland. Showing a little love to the Union was an easy way for Russia to spite them.

Possible territorial disputes between the United States and Russia were resolved peacefully. In the early 18th century Russia planted settlements on the Pacific coast of North America to harvest sea otters. But after a century the northern Pacific had been overhunted, and Russia was happy to offload its distant outposts. In 1841 Russia sold Fort Ross, now in Sonoma County, Calif., to John Sutter. It became part of the United States when America took California from Mexico in 1846. In 1867 Russia sold Alaska directly to the United States for \$7.2 million. Russia made some money, shucked a burden and helped enlarge the United States at the expense of the British, whose Pacific holdings were confined to British Columbia.

In the 20th century America and Russia first collided in China. America's “Open Door Policy” toward China at the turn of the century called for an independent China, open to trade with all the imperial powers. But Russia wanted Manchuria for itself. In

the 1890s it built a railroad through Manchuria and fortified Port Arthur on the Liaotung Peninsula. In 1904 Japan went to war to stop Russian expansion. President Theodore Roosevelt offered to mediate as a friend of both countries, though his private correspondence showed which one he trusted less. “The Japs interest me and I like them,” he wrote. But “Russia's course during the past three years has made it evident that if she wins she will organize northern China against us and rule us absolutely out of all the ground she can control.” Roosevelt induced the belligerents to make peace in 1905, which won him a Nobel Prize—and Russia lost its foothold in China.

Even when relations were at their best, Americans were conscious of the gulf between the two societies. Imperial Russia was a byword for autocracy and reaction; Abraham Lincoln, expressing the common American view, referred to “Russia...where despotism can be taken pure.”

The October Revolution of 1917 transformed Russia and America's attitudes toward it. The beating heart of the Soviet Union was still Russian nationalism, what diplomat George Kennan called a “centuries-old movement.” But communism's vision of worldwide revolution gave Soviet Russia ambitions and an appeal far beyond anything ever felt or enjoyed by the tsars. The United States allied with the Soviet Union in World War II to destroy the greater threat of Hitler, but before and after that the two countries waged a long and often not-so-cold war against each other.

The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991; lesser pieces of it gained independence. What then? For a time it seemed as if a shrunken, chastened Russia could pose no problem. President Boris Yeltsin, alongside President Bill Clinton in 1995, said “our partnership” was meant to last not “one year or for five years” but “for a century.” But within five years Clinton was criticizing Russia for crushing a revolt in Chechnya, while Yeltsin was criticizing the United States for backing one in Kosovo.

Tocqueville wrote long ago that Russia and America were still “in the act of growth.” Now they have grown up; they are bound to treat each other in the 21st century, as they did at the beginning of the 20th, as great powers, with sometimes divergent interests—respectfully and warily. ★

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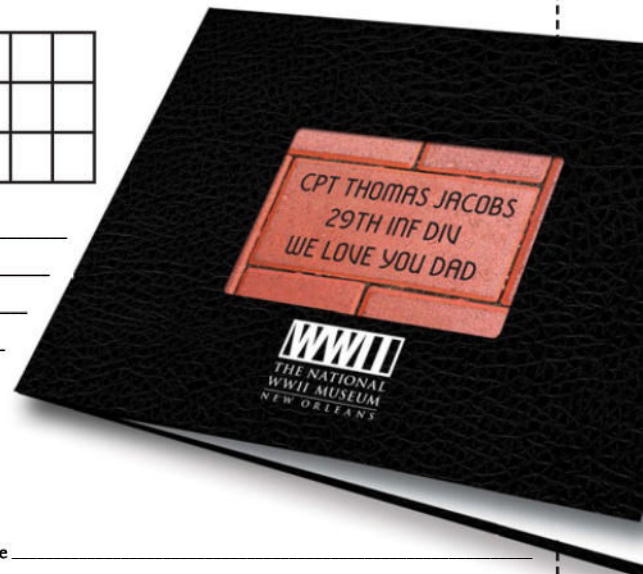
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ALL IN THE FAMILY



The United States came into being at the hands of people of who had had enough of the Old World's rules of nobility by which political power and wealth were contingent on birth. This would be a land of free people out from under the thumb of monarchs and aristocrats, with leaders chosen for their merit and commitment to work for the people, not for themselves. George Washington himself set the standard, rejecting the trappings and honorifics that some believed were his due as the commander in chief of the revolutionary army that had defeated the world's greatest power and as the singular figure who could unite and lead a disparate collection of states. Washington wrote to Alexander Hamilton in August 1788: "Still I hope I shall always possess firmness and virtue enough to maintain (what I consider the most enviable of all titles) the character of an honest man." As Richard Brookhiser relates in "No Kings Needed" (pg. 30), he had no designs on extending the reign of Washington beyond himself.

Thomas Jefferson and our other founders did not want to create an "artificial aristocracy" marked by the inherited wealth and influence of a select few—and yet American history has seen a number of powerful dynastic political families. The authority on the subject, historian Stephen Hess, opens our special issue devoted to the history of political dynasties with a broad overview of the phenomenon (pg. 22). He reminds us that as we evolve and our universe of political possibilities expands (the first African-American president elected in 2008, potentially first female president in 2016), the old and ingrained advantages diminish. It is ironic, of course, that in the midst of this real demographic and cultural shift, the two political families that have dominated the scene for the past quarter century are once again vying for the White House.

But, as former vice president Walter Mondale urges us to remember in our interview (pg. 12), it is ultimately the "people's choice." And, whether the candidates are named Adams, Roosevelt, Kennedy, Bush or Clinton, the people will choose the one they believe can and will lead best. As we enter another presidential election year, this issue explores the rise and fall of the top dynasties along with the dozens of other families that have often dominated American politics.—**Roger L. Vance**





The Family Business

Our democratic and egalitarian ideals notwithstanding, families of fortune—and genius—have long shaped the American political landscape *By Stephen Hess*



The Winners

Among the Kennedy clan celebrating at the Hyannis Port, Mass., home of Joseph and Rose on the night of the 1960 election of John Kennedy as president were his brothers: Robert, the future attorney general, senator and 1968 presidential candidate, and Ted, who would serve in the Senate from 1962 to 2009 and make his own bid for the nomination of his party in 1980.

Rock On

Rockefeller patriarch John Sr. with his son John (standing) and family in 1916. Future New York governor and the 41st vice president, Nelson, is seated in center, next to Winthrop, right, future governor of Arkansas.





My fascination with America's political families began in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1957. I was an Army private stationed at the Third Armored Division headquarters. One evening I went to the library hoping to find something entertaining and instead spied the behemoth *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, listing every legislator since the Continental Congress of 1774. As I skimmed names, some kept reappearing, over and over. Muhlenbergs. Bayards. Stocktons and Frelinghuysens. Who were these senators and congressmen I had never heard of?

I had had a good education. I was a political science major! I knew of the Presidents Adams, John and John Quincy, father and son, and the two Roosevelts, Theodore and Franklin, fifth cousins. I even knew about the Harrisons, William Henry and Benjamin, grandfather and grandson. But who were these Livingstons and Breckinridges? Or the Washburnes, four brothers who had served as congressmen from Maine, Illinois, Minnesota and Wisconsin?

The Constitution declares, "No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States." Yet in the two centuries since those words were written, Americans had apparently chosen what political analyst Stewart Alsop once called the "People's Dukes." Generation after generation, voters freely elected members the same families. Students of politics paid little attention to this phenomenon until 1960, when the Kennedys arrived on the presidential scene with a talent so bright as to light up the sky. John F. Kennedy moved into the White House with a beautiful young wife and two engaging children. He made his brother Bob his attorney general. Brother Ted was soon installed in JFK's old Senate seat. Sargent Shriver, a brother-in-law, came to Washington to create the Peace Corps.

Suddenly, America's dynastic impulse became worth considering and might even have consequences for a democracy. In 1966, the year I published the first edition of *America's Political Dynasties*, the U.S. Sen-

ate had 18 members who were in some manner dynastically connected. In the House of Representatives, there were 11 sons of congressmen, 2 sons of senators, 4 who had had brothers in Congress, 3 whose husbands had been in Congress and a slew of others with more distant relatives as officeholders.

Forty-four American political families have had at least four members of the same name elected to federal office, and in 75 families three members of the same name held national office. Another 48 dynasties could be called "mix and match" because they produced three or more members joined through marriage, such as the Rockefellers with the Aldriches. Yet collectively, these dynastic families, though unique, have contributed just 6 percent of the men and women who have been elected to Congress since 1774.

In my latest edition of *America's Political Dynasties*, I have profiled 18 families, from the founders, including the Adamses and Lees, to the latest, the Bushes and the Clintons, now contending head to head. These 18 dynasties have produced 11 presidents, 4 vice presidents, 33 senators, 18 governors, 73 members of the U.S. House of Representatives or Continental Congress and 11 Cabinet officers.

Although these families are bound together by their pursuit of the same goal, winning elections, their histories are as varied as the Adamses of Massachusetts and the Lees of Virginia. The first Adams left his heirs a house, a barn and three beds; the first Lee left an estate of 13,000 acres, all rich tobacco land. With little in common, they joined together to maneuver America's separation from Great Britain.

Politics was a byproduct of religion for the Muhlenbergs and Frelinghuysens. The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg had been sent to Pennsylvania by the German Lutheran Church. The Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen had been sent to New Jersey by the Dutch Reformed Church. By the time of the American Revolution, Germans made up a third of Pennsylvania's population and Dutch



FDR Again!

On election night 1936, FDR is flanked by his mother, FDR Jr., and Eleanor, A Roosevelt was president for 19 of the first 45 years of the 20th century.

a sixth of New Jersey's—sizable voting blocs indeed.

Not all the founders were as patriotic as the Adamses and Lees or as pious as the Muhlenbergs and Frelinhuysens. In the 1680s the first Livingston secured title to 157,640 acres of land without actually buying any of it, pulling off what Livingston's biographer, Lawrence Leder, called "one of the grossest land frauds ever perpetrated in an age noted for unethical dealings." The first Lodge forefather in the Senate made a profit as a privateer in the American Revolution.

Within the dynasties there was harmony, until there was not. The Hyde Park Roosevelts and the Oyster Bay Roosevelts were destined to come into conflict. The Civil War split the Kentucky Breckinridges exactly down the middle. Yet there could also be deep family regard. The newspaper publisher Charlie Taft personally financed the long public career of his brother, William Howard Taft. Cadwallader Colden Washburne of Wisconsin, on the floor of the House of Representatives in 1858, came to the defense of his brother from Illinois, grabbing Eli-

hu's attacker by the hair. (It was a wig and came off in Washburne's hands.)

There are uncommon military legacies. Jack Kennedy and George H.W. Bush fought in World War II, and Teddy Roosevelt's sons and grandsons became known for remarkable feats in both world wars. Robert E. Lee was the greatest general of them all, while on the Union side Benjamin Harrison, unassertive as president, displayed bravery beyond courage during Sherman's March to the Sea. Generations of American schoolchildren were taught about young pastor Peter Muhlenberg marching from his church door into the Continental Army to join Washington at Valley Forge.

There were the great achieving families—the Adamses, Lees, Roosevelts, Tafts, Bushes, Clintons—and others more interesting than important. Still, there were great moments: James A. Bayard, Delaware's lone congressman in 1801, broke with his party to vote for Thomas Jefferson over Aaron Burr when the presidency had to be decided in the House of Representatives; Robert A.

Livingston was U.S. minister to France during the years when the Louisiana Purchase was considered, then formally effected; Elihu B. Washburne, another U.S. minister to France, was the only diplomat to remain in Paris during the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, supervising the relief of 30,000 people; Henry St. George Tucker was the author of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, which provides for the direct election of senators.

Dynastic accounting must also measure the critical role of women in their success. A framed photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt sat on a table in Hillary Clinton's White House office. Mrs. Clinton quotes Mrs. Roosevelt in her memoirs: "A woman is like a teabag. You never know how strong she is until she's in hot water." Abigail Adams proved so skillful in commerce and as a farm manager when her husband, John, was in France during the Revolution that she alone restored the family to solvency. Martha Bowers, Robert Taft's wife, was such an adept campaigner (Taft was not) that a Cleveland newspaper announced his upset victory in 1938 under the headline "Bob and Martha Taft Elected to the Senate." Edward Livingston, the minister to France from 1833 to 1835, in his old age wrote to his wife, "What I am, my dear Louise, I owe chiefly to you." This is a common theme in stories of male office-seekers.

Yet unfortunately, the stories of their children were too often tales of alcoholism, drug addiction, mental illness, mental retardation, financial reverses or misconduct, sex scandals or an inability to bear the burdens of their celebrity. Abigail and John had one son who became president of the United States and two who became alcoholics. John F. Kennedy Jr. called two of his first cousins, in print, "poster boys for bad behavior....To whom much is given much is expected, right?" No dynasty children so abused their inheritance as the three eldest sons of FDR and Eleanor. Elliott, between 1934 and 1977, was investigated at least eight times by congressional committees. A Herblock cartoon showed FDR Jr., a lawyer who in the 1950s had represented Rafael Trujillo, the despotic dictator of the Dominican Republic, in Washington, sitting on a pile of the Trujillo's money. The caption read, "I'm broad-minded—I'm just as willing to work for a democracy."

There were also in-laws. As in many families, some were unusual. Nicholas Bayard married a woman who was imprisoned for being a witch. In 1662 Judith Verlet was "seized in a strange manner with Fits." Fortunately, Nicholas' uncle was New York governor Peter Stuyvesant, and his letter to Connecticut governor John Winthrop settled the matter. A Livingston in-law was Robert Fulton, inventor of the steamboat, which was to the financial advantage of the family. An elderly Frelinghuysen in-law led a suffrage march to the White House in 1919, for which she spent a night in jail. She reported that "the gas vapors from the sewers escaped. The fumes from the furnace escaped. Everything escaped but the prisoners."

The families were Protestant, except for the Catholic

Kennedys and a branch of the Bushes; they were usually rich, at death if not at birth, although not "as rich as a Rockefeller" (unless they were Rockefellers). During the age of the robber barons, there were no Astors, Vanderbilts, Goulds, Morgans or Harrimans in Congress. Jay Gould felt political influence was best purchased when needed. The wealthy families were not averse, however, to their daughters marrying politicians, creating a special source of dynastic wealth: the advantageous marriage. In 1901 the son of John D. Rockefeller, the richest man in America, married the daughter of Senator Nelson Aldrich, the most powerful politician in America. Their son, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, became vice president of the United States in 1974. In the same way wealth also came to the Adamses, Tafts and Frelinghuysens.

A dynastic family generally was large. Philip Lee had 17 children. John Scott Harrison, son of William Henry and father of Benjamin, had 13. The Kennedys would not have had a fifth and sixth generation in Congress—a remarkable achievement for any family and amazing for one that entered Congress only in 1947—had Robert and Ethel not had 11 children. Having an only child can limit dynasty building.

Several of the early dynasties ended in the 19th century, while others were on life support after 1900. John Adams could have contended that the Adamses had planned their exodus from political life. While serving in France, he wrote Abigail, "I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy... in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture." This theory of politics to poetry in three generations turned out to be a fairly accurate prediction for the Adams family. "A single family can stay adjusted through three generations," claimed historian Brooks Adams, grandson of John Quincy, in 1919. "It is now full four generations since John Adams wrote the Constitution of Massachusetts. It is time that we perished. The world is tired of us." He was right in that the flinty Adamses had become more and more out of step with what voters wanted.

If the people rejected the Adamses, the Livingstons rejected the people. "I should find myself ill-calculated to take a lead among men rendered fastidious by too much courtship, to intrigue with little men," answered a Livingston when asked why he had left the political scene. When the Livingstons could no longer control politics, they retired to their country estates, married other Livingstons, had fewer children and got their income from investments rather than from entrepreneurial activities. Maintaining the status quo became a full-time occupation.

'Billary'

Newly elected president Bill Clinton and wife Hillary in Little Rock on election night after beating George H. W. Bush in 1992.



**18 DYNASTIES
HAVE PRODUCED
11 PRESIDENTS,
4 VICE PRESIDENTS,
33 SENATORS,
18 GOVERNORS,
73 MEMBERS OF
THE U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES
OR CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS,
AND 11 CABINET
OFFICERS**

George 2.0

Even though Al Gore had conceded, George H.W. Bush works the phones and sons George W. and Jeb pensively watch as news coverage reveals the tightening Florida vote tally on election night 2000.



The Lees of Virginia stayed in politics for a while after the Civil War. Fitzhugh Lee was governor from 1885 until 1890, but succeeding generations transformed the family into a military dynasty. Vice Admiral Fitzhugh Lee was skipper of the carrier *Manila Bay* during the battle for Leyte Gulf in 1944. The Civil War also had an impact on the careers of the Breckinridges, as some of them saw better opportunities available outside the war-torn South and left Kentucky, the seat of their political power.

Only the Frelinghuysens stayed in place. The sixth of the family in Congress, Rodney, today represents the Raritan Valley of New Jersey as his father, Peter, had before him. It is the land where the congressman's great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, settled in January 1720.

Old dynasties die, and new dynasties are created. Stewart Udall was first elected to Congress from Arizona in 1954. His brother, Morris, succeeded him after President Kennedy appointed him secretary of the interior in 1961. In the next generation, Stewart's son Tom was elected to the U.S. House in 1998 and to the Senate in 2008, representing New Mexico, and Mo's son Mark was similarly elected to the U.S. House in 1998 and to the Senate in 2008, representing Colorado.

Mark Udall, however, is emblematic of the rise and fall of political dynasties that was on display in the 2014 midterm elections. He lost his bid for reelection to the Senate, and several other candidates from well-known political families likewise lost Senate races: Mark Begich of Alaska, Mark Pryor of Arkansas, Kay Hagan of North Carolina, Michelle Nunn of Georgia and Mary Landrieu of Louisiana. There was a winner: Shelley Moore Capito, daughter of a West Virginia governor, moved from the House to the Senate. Gwen Graham, a new member of the U.S. House of Representatives as of 2014, is the daughter of former Senator Bob Graham; and John Dingell, who inherited his House seat from his father in 1955, gave up the seat so that his wife, Debbie, could successfully succeed him.

America is a land of past and future dynasties. In this fluid game of getting to dynasty, there is no shortage of applicants. Public service is a worthy goal, and the routes to the top are carefully marked. One may rise by climbing an elective-office ladder, from city, to state, to Washington, or jump the queue through celebrity status; war heroes are preferred, but athletes and actors will do. Ethnic groups need a critical mass and a location from which to stake a claim. Just as the Muhlenbergs worked from a Pennsylvania Dutch power base in the late 18th century and the Kennedys followed the Irish to Boston a hundred years later, Little Italy in Baltimore sent Thomas D'Alesandro successively to the Maryland legis-

lature, the Baltimore City Council, the U.S. Congress and back to the mayor's office. His son also was mayor, and his daughter, Nancy Pelosi, became Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Groups that disperse widely, such as Americans from India, are disadvantaged.

A brand name is a valuable asset—until it isn't—especially in a small state. For half the years between 1804 and 1929, a Bayard represented Delaware in the Senate. Voters sometimes feel that electing a dynastic family is comforting and efficient, and if they're wrong, there's always the next election. Congress is also full of people who got there largely because their fathers or husbands got there first and then died in office. Voters seem to give heirs one free pass, a step up the elective ladder, before the newcomers must prove themselves. Two of FDR's sons won seats in the House of Representatives but were defeated when they tried to climb higher.

From the last two decades of the 20th century into the next decades of the 21st, when the political landscape in the United States appears dominated by two families, there are some who are embarrassed or made uncomfortable by what they perceive as an antidemocratic slide toward government-by-legacy. Or perhaps they just don't like one or the other of the contenders, and blame the American two-party system. What is fascinating about the Bushes and the Clintons in terms of background, style and personality is that they have nothing in common except a burning desire to be elected president of the United States. A nice irony is that while the Clintons are not a dynasty but would like to be one, the Bushes are a dynasty but deny that they are one.

So one lesson of this study is patience: This too shall pass. A democracy means that any citizen—now, male or female—can start his or her own dynasty. The people who try are ambitious and energetic. Some have advantages—life isn't fair. Some have changed history; others have had modest effect. On average, collectively they have been above average. The result is that America's political dynasties, rather than representing rigidity (as the word "dynasty" might imply), are part of the flux, the rise and fall, of a constantly changing scene. ★

Stephen Hess, senior fellow emeritus at the Brookings Institution began his Washington career as a speechwriter for President Eisenhower. He served on the White House staff of President Nixon and has been as an adviser to Presidents Ford and Carter. The latest revised edition of America's Political Dynasties, From Adams to Clinton, was published in November 2015.



NO KINGS NEEDED

The Founders' visions of democracy left little room for rulers from the "artificial aristocracy" of inherited wealth *By Richard Brookhiser*



Down with the King!
On July 9, 1776, after hearing a reading of the Declaration of Independence, New Yorkers defile a statue of King George III.

The England from which America revolted in 1775 was a cat's cradle of dynasties, royal and aristocratic. The king, George III, was a scion of the House of Hanover. His prime minister, Lord North, was an earl. William and Richard Howe, the general and the admiral the king sent to defeat his rebellious subjects, were his cousins (their grandmother had been a mistress of George I). The House of Lords was composed of men who held hereditary titles, while the House of Commons, Parliament's elected branch, was also stuffed with aristocrats. The most famous exception in English political life was the pro-American Member of Parliament William Pitt, known as the Great Commoner—until he accepted the title of Lord Chatham.



The United States determined to free itself from all this. The first self-evident truth of the Declaration of Independence is that all men are created equal: There would be no social ranks here. Both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution forbade titles of nobility—a prohibition that Alexander Hamilton, son of a shopkeeper, hailed in the *Federalist* as “the cornerstone of republican government.” So long as titles were “excluded” from American life, Hamilton argued, “there can never be serious danger that the government will be any other than that of the people.” Who would subvert popular rule if everyone were on the same footing? Benjamin Franklin, son of a candle maker, gave the egalitarian principle a folksy spin, writing that titles actually harmed those who held them, making them “proud, disdainful of the useful arts, and thence falling into... servility and wretchedness.” Pity the poor noblemen—they could never be as industrious and productive as artisans or tradesmen.

The new country did not propose to be an anarchic mass, however. The Continental Army was commanded by ranks of officers, and state and federal governments were composed of legislators, judges, executives

and their subordinates, from cabinet secretaries to clerks. But all these officeholders were elected or were appointed by other officeholders who had been elected.

Who would hold office in such a system? In 1813 an elderly Thomas Jefferson (son of a wealthy planter, but a man of impeccable liberal sentiments) addressed this question in a letter to his old friend John Adams (son of a farmer).

In all societies, Jefferson admitted, there was an “artificial aristocracy, founded on wealth and birth.” Its members rose to the top because they bought their way there or because they were born there. Jefferson believed that such “artificial” aristocrats looked out only for themselves; he called them “a mischievous ingredient in government.” But there was also a “natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents.” Natural aristocrats rose to prominence because of their superior morality and ability; they would conduct the public business with selflessness and skill. Their existence was virtually guaranteed by the nature of things. “It would have been inconsistent in creation,” Jefferson explained, “to have formed men

Tokens of Power

At the first inauguration of President George Washington, souvenir copper buttons—with a slogan usually reserved for a king or queen—encircle the president's initials.





George vs. George
The president would have nothing of the trappings or titles that had for ages separated the people from their leaders.



for the social state, and not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of society."

What about ordinary people? They were the majority in any society, and Jefferson believed that, if given a choice, they would prefer to be governed by natural aristocrats. "Leave to the citizens the free election and separation of the *aristoi* from the pseudo-*aristoi*, of the wheat from the chaff. In general they will elect the real good and wise. In some instances," he conceded, "wealth may corrupt and birth blind them"—the people might occasionally pick an artificial aristocrat or two—"but not in

sufficient degree to endanger the society."

It was an optimistic vision of democracy as a meritocracy. Jefferson wrote with his habitual confidence and with the complacency of a proven winner. America's citizens, it is true, had narrowly failed to make him president in 1796. But then they had elected him in 1800 and triumphantly re-elected him four years later. Everything was for the best in this most American of all worlds.

But there were dynastic undercurrents even in the republican utopia. The United States granted no titles, but Americans were tickled by the presence in their Revolutionary ranks of European noblemen like Baron von Steuben and the Marquis de Lafayette.



One all-American officer in the Continental Army bore a foreign title, or said he did. William Alexander (born in New York City, settled in New Jersey) claimed a defunct Scottish earldom, and was addressed by his comrades throughout the war as “Lord Stirling.” Jefferson himself was pleased when, in 1803, Betsy Patterson, the lovely daughter of an Irish immigrant who had made his fortune in Baltimore, married Napoleon’s youngest brother, Jerome Bonaparte. Napoleon was not pleased—he wanted European nobility for in-laws, not Yankee commoners—and annulled the match.

There were rumors throughout the founding period that this pleasure in foreign titles was actually something more sinister. The Scottish writer Sir Walter Scott claimed that the United States had approached Charles Edward Stuart, the Jacobite pretender to the English throne, to offer him a crown. Critics of the Constitutional Convention feared that that conclave—which deliberated in secret—might make a similar offer to some other Old World royal. The Convention did no such thing, but Hamilton, who participated as a delegate from New York, did give a long speech in which he called for a national executive elected for good behavior—for life, if he behaved well. His suggestion, he admitted, went “beyond the ideas of most members.”

The man around whom these tensions swirled was George Washington. Washington was, in effect, America’s chief executive twice—commander in chief for almost the entire Revolution (1775–83), then first president for two terms (1789–97): more than 16 years at the top. He looked the part; Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, gushed that any European monarch would look like a “valet de chambre” by his side. Washington had the same first name as George III, and their long-nosed faces were similar enough that numismatists have trouble saying whether Revolutionary-era tokens with the inscription GEORGIUS TRIUMPHO were meant to hail the king or the rebel.

Some Americans had trouble making the distinction between an elected leader and a royal one. In May 1782, after Washington’s great victory at Yorktown but before the treaty of peace had been signed, one of his officers, Col. Lewis Nicola, wrote the commander in chief a provocative letter claiming, “This war must have shown to all, but especially to military men in particular, the weakness of republics.” Washington knew the weaknesses well: indecision, backbiting, poor planning. Nicola asked, Shouldn’t Washington become a king? After he became president instead in April 1789, the Senate wanted him to have an almost royal honorific: “His Highness the President of the United States of America and Protector of the Rights of the Same.”

Washington rejected both the substance and the forms of monarchy. He had not endured the cold of Morristown and the heat of Monmouth simply to switch one crown for another. He sent Colonel Nicola a reply that was as blunt as a bat: “If you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me...banish these thoughts from your mind.” He let a loyal friend in the First Congress, Rep. James Madison, trim the Senate’s booming verbiage to “The President of the United States.” Anything more, Madison argued, “would disgrace the manly shoulders of our chief.”

Washington had a personal reason, beyond his own convictions, for knowing that he could never be king: He was childless. His wife, the former Martha Custis, had had four children by her first marriage (all dead by 1781); even though she married George in her late 20s, she had had no more. In a draft of his first inaugural address, Washington cited his infertility as a guarantee of his republicanism. “I have no child for whom I could wish to make a provision—no family to build in greatness upon my country’s ruins.” Madison, who ghosted the address that Washington ultimately gave, cut that statement out. But Washington’s point was important. All of the founding presidents were anti-monarchists, and none of them would have tol-

It is Written

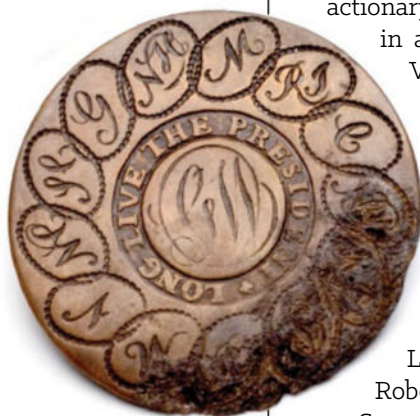
The Constitution’s drafters were explicit in their intentions: “No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States.”

JEFFERSON ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS AN “ARTIFICIAL ARISTOCRACY, FOUNDED ON WEALTH AND BIRTH.” ITS MEMBERS ROSE TO THE TOP BECAUSE THEY BOUGHT THEIR WAY THERE OR BECAUSE THEY WERE BORN THERE



Plainclothesman

Washington chose to wear a modest, American-made woolen suit for his first inauguration on April 30, 1789.



United We Stand

The original 13 states are linked together on an inauguration token to symbolize the unity embodied by the new president.

erated a son winning office by any means other than election. For three of them, as for Washington, the issue never arose. Jefferson, Madison, and James Monroe, the third, fourth and fifth presidents, were childless or had daughters. American politics might have been congested indeed if there had been a second generation, a junior varsity squad, of Washingtons, Jeffersons, Madisons and Monroes.

Politics did in fact get congested at the state level, where family dynasties proliferated. The last colonial governor of Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull, was also the first post-independence governor. A patriot and an important ally of Washington, he served from 1769 to 1784. One son, Jonathan Trumbull Jr., served as governor from 1798 to 1809. Another son, John Trumbull, was the premier artist of the Revolution; his painting *The Signing of the Declaration of Independence* was copied on the back of the two-dollar bill.

Jefferson, in his correspondence with Adams, mentioned Connecticut's "traditional reverence" for favorite families, which he attributed to the state's reactionary politics. (He considered Connecticut reactionary because it never voted for him in any of his presidential races.) "In Virginia," he added piously, "we have nothing of this." Nonsense. Virginia swarmed with powerful families. The Lees produced two signers of the Declaration (Richard Henry and Francis Lightfoot), two diplomats (Arthur and William) and a cavalry officer (Henry, better known as Light-Horse Harry). Henry's son Robert would win fame in a later war.

Some dynastic families were so large that they fought among themselves. America's first two-party system split the Pinckneys of South Carolina. Brothers Thomas and Charles Cotesworth (a signer of the Constitution) were both staunch Federalists. But they had a cousin, another signer of the Constitution, Charles—nicknamed Blackguard Charlie—who in the election of 1800 worked successfully to put South Carolina in the Republican column. The Randolphs of Virginia were related to both Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall: Jefferson's mother and Marshall's grandmother were Randolphs. As chief justice, Marshall twice administered the presidential oath of

office to his cousin. But the two men loathed each other: Jefferson thought the chief justice was a sophisticated Federalist, Marshall thought the president was a Republican demagogue.

John Adams was not surprised by the ongoing power and political success of prominent families. In his letters to Jefferson, he admitted New England's fondness for "aristocratical families." He recalled a conversation, decades earlier, with an old judge who had asked him to read the election returns from neighboring Rhode Island. "I read the list of Wantons, Watsons, Greens, Whipples, Malbones, etc." The judge said, "I expected as much.... Elections will generally go in favor of the most ancient families."

Adams thought it wasn't just a New England trait. There are "five pillars of aristocracy," he lectured Jefferson: "beauty, wealth, birth, genius and virtues." Any one of these qualities gave a man, or a woman, influence, and thus power, even in a democracy. Then power, once acquired, would accrue to the aristocrat's relatives.

"Call this principle, prejudice, folly, ignorance, baseness, slavery, stupidity, adulation, superstition or what you will," Adams concluded. "But the fact...I cannot deny or dispute or question."

Jefferson believed that democracy advantaged the good. Adams thought it was equally likely to boost the good looking, the rich and the well-born. His more cynical view may have been encouraged by his own experience at the polls. He had run for president twice: the first time (1796) successfully, the second (1800) going down to defeat—against Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson had lost, then won. Adams had won, then lost. No wonder Jefferson's opinion of democracy was sunnier.

But Adams had a consolation. He had none of the advantages of beauty, wealth, or birth, but genius and virtues had taken him far. And he, alone of the founder presidents, had sons. Genius, virtues and his own success would help his eldest son, John Quincy Adams, become a diplomat, senator, secretary of state and finally sixth president of the United States. ★

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State Political Dynasties

Many families have a multi-generational record of holding powerful political offices within their state and as representatives in Washington, often leading them to national prominence.

CALIFORNIA

Brown

Pat, Governor (1959-67), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1960); **Jerry**, son of Pat, Governor (1975-83, 2011-present), Mayor of Oakland (1998-2006), California Attorney General (2007-11), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1976, '80, '92)

IDAHO

Clark/Church

Barzilla, Governor (1937-39); **Chase**, brother of Barzilla, Governor (1941-43); **Frank Church**, son-in-law of Chase Clark, Senator (1957-81), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1976)

COLORADO

Adams

Alva, Governor (1887-89, 1897-99)
William, brother of Alva, Governor (1927-33)
Alva B., son of Alva, Senator (1923-24, 1933-41)

ARIZONA

Udall

David, Arizona Territory Legislature (1899)
Levi, son of David, Supreme Court Justice (1946-60);
Stewart, son of Levi, Representative (1955-61), Secretary of the Interior (1961-69); **Mo**, son of Stewart, Representative (1961-66), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1976);
★ **Mo Udall's son Mark** was Representative (1999-2009) and Senator (2009-15) from Colorado
★ **Stewart Udall's son Tom** was Representative (1999-2009) and Senator (2009-present) from New Mexico

NORTH DAKOTA

Burdick

Usher, Representative (1935-45, 1949-53)
Quentin, son of Usher, Representative (1959-60), Senator (1960-92)
Jocelyn, wife of Quentin, Senator (1992)

NEBRASKA

Weaver

Archibald, Representative (1883-87); **Arthur**, son of Archibald, Governor (1929-31)
Phillip, son of Arthur, Representative (1955-63)

KANSAS

Docking

George, Governor (1957-61)
Robert, son of George, Governor (1967-75)
Thomas, son of Robert, Lt. Governor (1983-87)

OKLAHOMA

Boren

Lyle, Representative (1937-47)
David, son of Lyle, Governor (1975-79), Senator (1979-94)
Dan, son of David, Representative (2005-13)

WISCONSIN

La Follette

Robert, Representative (1885-91), Governor (1901-06), Senator (1906-25), ran for Republican nomination for president (1908, 1916), Progressive Party candidate for president (1924)

Robert Jr., son of Robert, Senator (1925-47); **Philip**, son of Robert Sr., Governor (1931-33, 1935-39)

★ **Robert Jr.** lost the 1946 Republican primary to Joseph McCarthy

INDIANA

Hendricks

William, Governor (1822-25), Senator (1825-37); **Thomas**, nephew of William, Representative (1851-55), Senator (1863-69), Governor (1873-77), candidate for Democratic nomination for president (1868, 1876, 1884), candidate for vice president (1876), 21st Vice President (1885);

★ **Thomas** died in office Nov. 25, 1885

ILLINOIS

Stevenson

Adlai, Representative (1875-77, 1879-81), 23rd Vice President (1893-97)

Adlai II, grandson of Adlai, Governor (1949-53), Democratic nominee for president (1952, 1956), Ambassador to the U.N. (1961-65);

Adlai III, son of Adlai II, Senator (1970-81)

TENNESSEE

Gore

Albert, Representative (1939-44, 1945-53), Senator (1953-71)

Albert Jr., son of Albert, Representative (1977-85), Senator (1985-93), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1988), 45th Vice President (1993-2001), Democratic nominee for president (2000)

MISSOURI

Carnahan

A.S.J., Representative (1945-47, 1949-61)

Mel, son of A.S.J., Governor (1993-2000); **Jean**, wife of Mel, Governor (2000-01); **Russ**, son of Mel, Representative (2005-13)

LOUISIANA

Boggs

Hale, Representative (1941-43, 1947-73); **Lindy**, wife of Hale, Representative (1973-91)

Long

Huey, Governor (1928-32), Senator (1932-35); **Rose**, wife of Huey, Senator (1936-37)

Earl, brother of Huey, Lt. Governor (1936-39), Governor (1939-40, 1948-52, 1956-60); **George**, brother of Huey, Representative (1953-58)

Russell, son of Huey, Senator (1948-87); **Gillis**, cousin of Huey, Representative (1963-65, 1973-85); **Speedy**, cousin of Huey, Representative (1965-73)

Catherine, wife of Gillis, Representative (1985-87)

RHODE ISLAND

Dixon

Nathan, Senator (1839-42); **Nathan II**, Representative (1849-51, 1863-71)

Nathan III, Representative (1885), Senator (1889-1895)

Chafee (see page 53)

MICHIGAN

Dingell

(see page 53)

OHIO

Taft (see Top 10)

KENTUCKY

Breckinridge

(see Top 10)

Chandler

Albert "Happy," Senator (1939-45), Governor (1935-39, 1955-59), Lt. Governor (1931-35)

Albert III, grandson of Happy, Representative (2004-present)

★ **Happy Chandler** was the commissioner of Major League Baseball (1941-45)

ALABAMA

Bankhead

John I, Representative (1887-1907), Senator (1907-20)

John II, son of John I, Senator (1931-46); **William**, son of John I, Representative (1917-40); **Walter**, son of John II, Representative (1941)

Folsom/Wallace

James "Big Jim" Folsom Sr., Governor (1947-51, 1955-59);

James Folsom Jr., Governor (1993-95), Lt. Governor (1987-93, 2007-11); **George Wallace**, nephew of James Folsom Sr., Governor (1963-67, 1971-79, 1983-87), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1964, 1972, 1976), American Independent Party candidate for president (1968); **Lurleen Wallace**, Governor (1967-68)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Bell

Samuel, Senator (1823-35), Governor (1819-23); **James**, son of Samuel, Senator (1855-57); **Charles**, nephew of Samuel, Senator (1879), Governor (1881-83); **Samuel N.**, grandson of Samuel, Representative (1871-73, 1875-77)

PENNSYLVANIA

Muhlenberg

John, Representative, (1789-91, 1793-95, 1799-1801), Senator (1801)

Frederick, brother of John, Continental Congress (1779-80) Representative (1789-97); **Henry A.**, nephew of John, Representative (1829-38)

Henry, son of Henry A., Representative (1853-54)

Frederick, great-great-grandson of John, Representative (1947-49)

WEST VIRGINIA

Moore/Capito

(see page 53)

NORTH CAROLINA

Ashe

John Baptista I, Continental Congress (1787), Representative (1790-93), Governor (1802)

Thomas, nephew of John, Representative (1873-77)

William, nephew of John, Representative (1849-55)

★ **John Baptista II**, nephew of John, Tennessee Representative (1843-45)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Butler

William I, Representative (1801-13); **William II**, son of William I, Representative (1841-43); **Andrew**, son of William I, Senator (1846-57); **Matthew**, son of William II, Senator (1877-95)

FLORIDA

Mack (see page 53)

Graham (see page 53)

MASSACHUSETTS

Adams (see Top 10)

Kennedy (see Top 10)

Cabot/Lodge

George Cabot, Senator (1791-96); **Henry Cabot Lodge**, great-grandson of George Cabot, Representative (1887-93), Senator (1893-1924); **Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.**, great-great-great-grandson of George Cabot, Senator (1937-44, 1947-53), Ambassador to the U.N. (1953-60), Republican nominee for vice president (1960)

CONNECTICUT

Ingersoll

Jonathan, Lt. Governor (1816-23); **Ralph**, son of Jonathan, Representative (1825-33); **Charles**, son of Ralph, Governor (1873-77); **Colin**, son of Ralph, Representative (1851-55)

NEW YORK

Roosevelt (see Top 10)

Cuomo (see page 53)

Livingston

Philip, Continental Congress (1775-78); **Walter**, nephew of Philip, Continental Congress (1784-85)

Robert R., cousin of Philip, Continental Congress (1775-76, 1779-80, 1784); **Edward**, brother of Robert, Representative (1795-81), Secretary of State (1831-33); **Henry**, son of William, U.S. Supreme Court Justice (1807-23); **Henry Walter**, son of Walter, Representative, (1803-07) **Robert Le Roy**, nephew of Walter, Representative (1809-12)

★ **William**, brother of Philip, was a New Jersey Delegate to the Continental Congress (1774-76) and New Jersey Governor (1776-90)

★ **Edward** also served Louisiana as U.S. Representative (1823-29), Senator (1829-31);

★ **Robert Linlithgow**, great-great-great grandson of Henry Walter, Louisiana Representative (1977-99)

NEW JERSEY

Frelinghuysen

(see Top 10)

DELAWARE

Bayard (see Top 10)

Rodney

Caesar, Continental Congress (1774, 1776, 1777), President of Delaware (1778-80); **Thomas**, brother of Caesar, Continental Congress (1781-82, 1784, 1785-87); **Daniel**, cousin of Caesar, Governor (1814-17), Representative (1822-23), Senator (1826-27); **Caleb**, brother of Daniel, Governor (1822-23); **Caesar A.**, son of Thomas, Senator (1822-23); **George**, son of Daniel, Representative (1841-45)

VIRGINIA

Byrd/Flood

Henry D. Flood, Representative (1901-21); **Joel**, brother of Henry, Representative (1932-33); **Harry F. Byrd**, nephew of Henry Flood, Governor (1926-30), ran for Democratic nomination for president (1932), Senator (1933-65), States Rights Party nominee for president (1956); **Harry Byrd Jr.**, son of Harry, Senator (1965-83)

THE TOP 10 POLITICAL DYNASTIES

A handful of families have sent multiple generations of members to the highest reaches of American political power, some even stretching as far back as the founding of the country and continuing into the 20th and 21st centuries. Of the six that have occupied the White House, four have done it twice. What follows is the cream of the crop of America's greatest political dynasties.

ASSOCIATED PRESS



Brothers in Arms

The Kennedy dynasty's zenith was reached with the 1960 election of John as president, who then appointed his brother Robert to be his attorney general and closest adviser. Brother Edward, meanwhile, was elected to the Senate in 1962.

The Adamses Founding Family

FOUNDERS: Samuel Adams (1722-1803)
and John Adams (1735-1826)

STOMPING GROUNDS: Massachusetts

SPAN OF DYNASTY: 1735-1848

SOURCES OF WEALTH: Samuel: Inherited father's brewery,
John: Attorney, investments

OFFICES, ACHIEVEMENTS: **John**, Signer of Declaration of
Independence, Delegate to Continental Congress (1774, 1775-
78), 2nd President (1797-1801), 1st Vice President (1789-97)

Samuel, Signer of Declaration of Independence,
Delegate to Continental Congress (1774-81),
Governor of Massachusetts (1794-97), Lt. Governor of
Massachusetts (1789-94) **John Quincy**, son of John, 6th
President (1825-29), Secretary of State (1817-25), U.S. Senator
from Massachusetts (1803-08), U.S. Representative (1831-48)

HIGHLIGHTS: **John's** *Thoughts on Government* set out the principle
of three branches of government and concept of "checks and
balances"; **John** was chief negotiator of Treaty of Paris; **John Q.**
negotiated Treaty of Ghent, helped formulate Monroe Doctrine

LOWLIGHTS: Two sons of John and Abigail (Charles, Thomas)
died of alcoholism

TWISTS: **Samuel** served as tax collector for British, **John** defended
eight British soldiers against murder charges after Boston
Massacre, winning acquittals for six. Wrote essays under pen
name Humphrey Ploughjogger. **John Q.** was only president to
return to U.S. House; advocated for abolition of slavery. *The
Education of Henry Adams*, memoir by John Q.'s historian and
journalist grandson, ranked 1st in 100 nonfiction books in
English by Modern Library Association in 1999.

Among those stalwarts who led American's independence movement, the Adams family stands out. Samuel and his younger second cousin, John, were contemporary "founding fathers." Eschewing the ministry, they both became Harvard-educated lawyers and political philosophers who led opposition to British tax laws on the colonies. Both served in the Continental Congress, signed the Declaration of Independence and were on a three-man committee that wrote the influential Massachusetts Constitution.

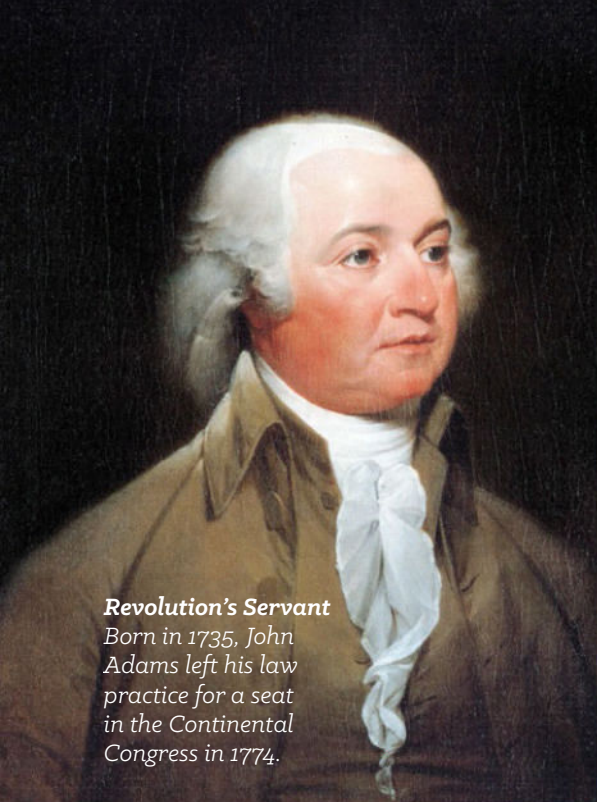
Samuel Adams, born in 1722, 13 years before John, was an undistinguished Boston beer brewer and tax collector before he became a thorn in Britain's side. He argued against the Sugar Act and the Stamp Act, and was one of the first colonists to articulate the unfairness of "taxation without representation." He served in the Massachusetts House of Delegates, was a delegate to the Continental Congress and helped draft the Articles of Confederation. He was first elected Massachusetts' governor in 1794 and

served four one-year terms.

John Adams, like Samuel, made his name inveighing against British regulations. He wore many hats during the Revolutionary War and afterward became one of America's first diplomats. He helped negotiate the Treaty of Paris, ending the war with Britain, and spent nearly 10 years abroad negotiating other pacts for the fledgling American government. He returned to become America's first vice president in 1789 and was elected as the second president in 1796. He lost his re-election bid to Thomas Jefferson in 1800.

John Quincy Adams, John Adams' eldest son, was elected America's sixth president in 1824, but his most notable achievements may have come before and after as a diplomat and congressman. From 1794 to 1801 he was minister to The Netherlands and then to Prussia. Back in America, in April 1802 John Quincy was elected to the Massachusetts legislature; later that year he lost a run for the U.S. House but won the appointment to the U.S. Senate and served until 1808. Like his father, John Quincy led a diplomatic team that negotiated an end to a war with Britain—the War of 1812. As secretary of state from 1817 to 1825 in the James Monroe administration, Adams played a key role in formulating the Monroe Doctrine, which expressed the U.S. policy regarding domination of the continent, and extending America's border to the Pacific Ocean. Adams won the controversial presidential election of 1824, in which Andrew Jackson won a plurality of popular and Electoral College votes but Adams was ultimately elected by the House. He lost his re-election bid to Jackson in 1828. Adams returned to Congress with election to the U.S. House two years later and served for nine terms. He spoke out frequently against slavery and earned the sobriquet "Old Man Eloquent" from his colleagues. On February 21, 1848, the 80-year-old Adams was felled by a stroke while in the House chamber and died two days later.

Subsequent Adams' generations largely stayed away from national politics. Three—John's son Thomas, John Quincy's son Charles Francis and John Quincy's grandson John Quincy III, served in the Massachusetts legislature. Charles Francis Adams III (1866-1954) was the last to hold elective office, as the mayor of Quincy, Mass., in 1897. He went on to serve as secretary of the Navy in the Herbert Hoover administration. One of the most prominent Adams descendants, John Q.'s grandson Henry Adams, made a name for himself as a historian and social observer.



Revolution's Servant

Born in 1735, John Adams left his law practice for a seat in the Continental Congress in 1774.



Son of a Brewer

Unlike cousin John, after the Revolution Samuel's elective offices were confined to the state level.



Multi-Tasker

John Q. Adams was a diplomat and a cabinet member, and held an elective office for 26 years.

The Harrisons Log Cabin Lite

FOUNDER: Benjamin Harrison V (1726-1791)

STOMPING GROUNDS: Virginia, Indiana

SPAN OF DYNASTY: 1774-1969

SOURCE OF WEALTH: Law

OFFICES, ACHIEVEMENTS: **Benjamin V**, signer of the Declaration of Independence, Virginia Continental Congress Delegate (1774-78), Governor (1782-84) **Carter Bassett**, son of Benjamin, Virginia U.S. Representative (1793-99) **William Henry I**, son of Benjamin, 9th President (1841), Ohio U.S. Senator (1825-28), U.S. Representative (1816-19), Indiana Territory Governor (1801-12) **John**, son of William Henry I, Ohio U.S. Representative (1853-57) **Carter Henry**, cousin of William Henry I, Illinois U.S. Representative (1875-79) **Benjamin**, grandson of William Henry I, 23rd President (1889-93), Indiana U.S. Senator (1881-87) **William Henry II**, grandson of Benjamin, Wyoming U.S. Representative (1951-55, 1961-65, 1967-69)

HIGHLIGHT: **Benjamin** signed into law Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890

TWISTS: **William** delivered longest inaugural address: 104 minutes;

John is only person to be child and parent of U.S. presidents.

Benjamin, nicknamed "human iceberg," was last president to wear a full beard.

William Henry Harrison's signature campaign emblem was a log cabin, but the man who would become the nation's 9th president was no frontier hayseed. He grew up in a prominent Episcopalian Tidewater Virginia family, and his father, Benjamin Harrison V, was a Constitutional Convention delegate and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. When Benjamin died abruptly, son William came under the guardianship of the influential financier Robert Morris. But it was Benjamin's friend, Virginia Governor Henry Lee, who suggested William enter the Army, and it was in the Army that William made a name for himself.

During his service he battled Native Americans to open the lands of what are now Ohio and Indiana to white settlers. In 1801 he was appointed governor of the Indiana Territory. Although he managed treaties with Native Americans, he would take on Tecumseh and the British in the War of 1812, cementing a reputation that would help him win the presidency in 1840. Innovative marketing didn't hurt. In addition to the miniature Harrison log cabins created by whiskey manufacturer E.C. Booz, his supporters drew attention to his candidacy by rolling a giant tin ball covered with Harrison slogans. (The efforts left the lasting expression "keep the ball rolling" and would be replicated by the 1888 Benjamin Harrison campaign.) But his outdoor campaigning in cold weather set the 68-year-old up for a bout with pneumonia, which killed him less than a month into his presidency.

Harrison's son John served two terms in the U.S. House (1853-57) from Ohio. John's son, Benjamin Harrison—just seven years old when his grandfather William became president—grew up to be an attorney, Presbyterian church leader, Union Civil War veteran, and Indiana senator. In 1889 he also became the nation's 23rd president, garnering 233 Electoral College votes but losing the popular vote to incumbent Democrat Grover Cleveland by 100,000.

During his term six states—North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho and Wyoming—were admitted to the Union. He championed Civil War veteran pensions, protective tariffs, conservation of Western lands, and oversaw passage of the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act, the first federal act of its kind and one of the most consequential pieces of legislation in U.S. history. During his term he attempted, unsuccessfully, to bring civil rights to African Americans, and the Congress approved the first billion-dollar budget during peacetime. Harrison would lose re-election by the largest margin in 20 years—to former President Grover Cleveland (the only president to serve two nonconsecutive terms).

Benjamin Harrison holds a few other records: He was the shortest president after James Madison and the last to sport a full beard. He was the first to have electricity in the White House, but he slept with the lights on for fear of electrocution. Although he was sometimes referred to as the "human iceberg," his wife was a party animal and put up the first Christmas tree in the White House. If he was personally aloof, Harrison expressed a different feeling for the nation: "An American citizen could not be a good citizen who did not have a hope in his heart."

Harrison's son Russell was as a diplomat before winning a seat in the Indiana legislature and later serving two terms in the state senate. Russell's son William Henry served a term in the Indiana legislature in 1927 and did not make more political headway until he moved to Wyoming. He was elected to his first of five terms as a U.S. representative in 1950. He tried to win a U.S. Senate seat in 1954, but failed.

Hero of Tippecanoe

William Henry Harrison's military prowess was a major part of his appeal in 1840.



Cold Day in D.C.

A month after his 1841 inauguration, William Henry Harrison was dead.



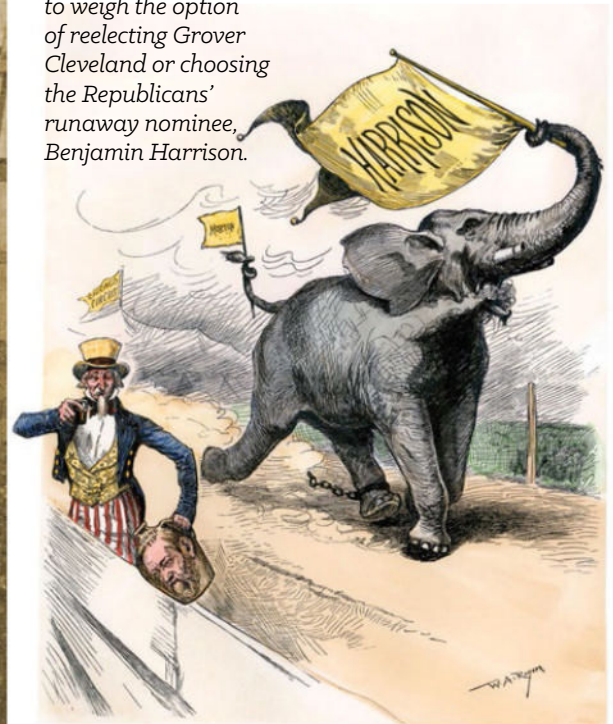


Big Beard on a Barn
The artist poses with a barn-sized painting of Benjamin Harrison during his failed 1892 reelection bid.



Tight Race of '88

In 1888 voters had to weigh the option of reelecting Grover Cleveland or choosing the Republicans' runaway nominee, Benjamin Harrison.



Battle Tested
General William Henry Harrison leads at the War of 1812 Battle of the Thames.

The Roosevelts Presidential Titans

FOUNDER: Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919)

STOMPING GROUNDS: New York, California

SPAN OF DYNASTY: 1899-1955

SOURCE OF WEALTH: Imported goods, real estate, investments

OFFICES, ACHIEVEMENTS: **Theodore**, 26th President (1901-09), 25th Vice President (1901), Governor of New York (1899-1900), lost bid for Republican nomination for President and ran on Progressive Party ticket (1912) **Franklin**, 32nd President (1933-45), Governor of New York (1929-32), Democratic candidate for Vice President (1920) **James**, son of Franklin, California U.S. Representative (1955-65) **Franklin Jr.**, son of Franklin, New York U.S. Representative (1949-55)

HIGHLIGHTS: **TR** made the Panama Canal a realization, pushed anti-trust laws, was a conservation pioneer, and called for “square deal” for workers **FDR** launched Social Security and federal minimum wage, established Securities and Exchange Commission, Tennessee Valley Authority, Civilian Conservation Corp, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and led victorious U.S. effort in World War II

LOWLIGHTS: **FDR** misjudged Stalin’s intentions in 1945; sons faced accusations of influence peddling and shady business ventures

TWISTS: **TR** gave one-hour speech after getting shot in chest during 1912 campaign; at age 58 petitioned President Wilson to let him lead four divisions in combat in World War I; **FDR’s sons** supported Republican Dwight Eisenhower for president in 1948

The Roosevelt cousins were descendants of a Dutchman who landed in New Amsterdam (later to be named New York) in the 1640s. One was a Republican, the other a Democrat. One epitomized America’s robust self-confidence, the other managed the two worst crises in the country’s history. One was an outdoorsman, the other a polio victim confined to a wheelchair. Both were privileged sons of New York who went to Harvard. Both were progressives who believed in the power of America’s central government. They were fifth cousins and two of the most influential men in American history.

Theodore Roosevelt was the son of a businessman and philanthropist who helped found the New York Museum of Modern Art and the Museum of Natural History. Scion of the Oyster Bay, Long Island, branch of the family, TR had a habit of offering advice to Americans—and topping the list was: “Get Action. Do Things.” That certainly defined his life. Author, rancher, civil servant, soldier, politician, conservationist, adventurer, president, Teddy Roosevelt was a man of many passions. After Harvard he was elected to the New York legislature. Later, following stints as a civil service commissioner in Washington, a police commissioner in New York City, and as

assistant secretary of the Navy, TR made his name leading the Rough Riders during the Spanish-American War. He came back a hero, which propelled him to the offices of governor of New York, vice president and then president in 1901, at age 42. As president, he broke up corporate trusts, championed the Panama Canal, created America’s first national wildlife refuge, and argued for “a square deal” for workers. He chose not to run for a full second term in 1908, then in 1912 challenged incumbent president William H. Taft. Taft wrested the GOP nomination from Roosevelt, who then created the Progressive Party and ran for president anyway. Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the election, ending TR’s political career.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, from the Hyde Park, New York, branch of the family, was the son of James Roosevelt, who made his fortune from coal and transportation, and Sara Ann Delano, whose father traded opium in Hong Kong. Franklin was at Harvard when Teddy was elected president. He, too, got elected to the New York State legislature soon after Harvard and became a Wilsonian Democrat. He married TR’s niece, Eleanor, and after working for the Navy in the Great War, became the running mate of James Cox in the 1920 presidential election. The next year FDR was struck by polio and lost the use of his legs. Undeterred, he re-entered politics three years later and sparked a family feud by helping Al Smith beat his cousin, Ted Roosevelt Jr., in the 1924 New York gubernatorial election. In 1928 FDR was elected governor of New York and from there it was a short hop to the presidency, which he won in 1932, at the depths of the Great Depression.

FDR’s vast New Deal programs of “recovery, relief and reform” created a lasting legacy of government action for the common good. He was re-elected president three times to lead the nation for 12 years before his death in 1945. Conservative critics claim that FDR embraced collectivism, but historian David M. Kennedy has a different viewpoint. “What needs emphasis,” Kennedy wrote in his 1999 book, *Freedom From Fear*, “is not what the New Deal failed to do but how it managed to do so much in the uniquely malleable moment of the mid-1930s. That brief span of years, it is now clear, constituted one of only a handful of episodes in American history when substantial and lasting social change has occurred—when the country was, in measurable degree, remade.” Roosevelt went on to manage America’s triumphant role in World War II, of course—an intervention that saved Europe, recharged the American economy and set the country on its way to a period of prosperity.

TR and FDR each had sons who got into politics. Ted Roosevelt Jr. was a New York assemblyman and World War II Medal of Honor recipient; two of Franklin’s four sons were members of the U.S. House of Representatives—Franklin Jr. and James. Another FDR son, Elliott Roosevelt, was elected mayor of Miami Beach, Fla., in 1965. But the family’s many descendants have eschewed politics in favor of achievement in other occupations.



Back for More

After Roosevelt lost the GOP nomination to Taft in 1912, he broke with the party and ran anyway.

Riding High

TR's Cuban exploits thrust him into the White House.



Bull-Moose Strong

TR's Progressives took on the moniker of the Bull Moose party in the 1912 race.



Power Couple

FDR's wife and TR's niece, Eleanor Roosevelt was a political and cultural force in her own right for more than 40 years.



The Tafts Gigantic Ambitions



Taft Ticket

William Howard Taft and his vice president James Sherman.

FOUNDER: Alphonso Taft (1810-1891)

STOMPING GROUNDS: Ohio

SPAN OF DYNASTY: 1876-2007

SOURCE OF WEALTH: Law, investments

OFFICES, ACHIEVEMENTS: **Alphonso:** Secretary of War (1876); U.S. Attorney General (1876-77), candidate for Republican nomination for governor of Ohio (1875, 1879) **William Howard:** 27th President (1909-13), 10th Chief Justice of U.S. Supreme Court (1921-30), Secretary of War (1904-08), Governor-General of the Philippines (1901-03) **Charles Phelps:** Ohio U.S. Representative (1895-97) **Robert Alphonso:** Ohio U.S. Senator (1939-53), candidate for Republican nomination for president (1940, 1948, 1952) **Robert Alphonso Jr.,** Ohio U.S. Senator (1971-76), U.S. Representative (1963-65, 1967-71), Republican candidate for U.S. Senate (1964) **Robert A. III,** Governor of Ohio (1999-2007)

HIGHLIGHTS: Senator **Robert I** was among few who opposed Japanese-American internment during World War II; criticized "victor's justice" of the Nuremberg trials

LOWLIGHTS: "Coingate" scandal during **Robert III's** Ohio governorship in which tens of millions in state Workers' Compensation funds were lost in high-risk rare coin investments; he also pleaded "no contest" to four misdemeanor charges for failure to disclose lobbyist gifts, and was reprimanded by the Ohio Supreme Court for the offenses

TWISTS: **President Taft** created the United States Chamber of Commerce in April 1912 to counter a rising labor movement in the country. Two Taft descendants were leading proponents of the failed 2015 Ohio ballot initiative to legalize the cultivation and use of marijuana

If the top dynasty is the family with members reaching the highest positions of power across the three branches of government, that prize goes to the Tafts. In 1921, eight years after leaving the White House as the 27th president, William Howard Taft was nominated—and swiftly confirmed by the Senate—to become the 10th chief justice of the Supreme Court. It was a dream come true for the man who had risen from Hamilton County, Ohio, prosecutor to Cincinnati Superior Court judge to U.S. solicitor general, appointed in 1890 at age 32 by President Benjamin Harrison. He is one of only two presidents elected without winning elective office previously or serving at a high rank in the military.

The Taft dynasty flourished around the love and practice of law. William's father, Alphonso, had a long career in Cincinnati after earning his degree at Yale in 1833, the first in his family to attend college (and the first of more than 20 Tafts to attend Yale). Politics soon followed, with Taft serving on the city council and on the

Cincinnati Superior Court. He was a founder of the city's Republican Party and made an unsuccessful bid for Congress in 1856 as well as two failed bids to be the party's candidate for governor in 1875 and 1879. His party loyalty and unquestioned integrity did, however, land him brief stints as secretary of war and attorney general in fellow Ohioan U.S. Grant's scandal-ridden administration.

By 1900 Alphonso's son William Howard was a prominent legal scholar. Appointed by President William McKinley in 1901 to lead a commission to organize a government in the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, Taft served as the first civilian governor-general of the Philippines until 1904, selflessly declining President Theodore Roosevelt's offer for a seat on the Supreme Court in 1903 because he felt his job in the Philippines was not yet done. Taft later accepted Roosevelt's appointment as secretary of war—and agreed to support Roosevelt's presidential campaign in 1904. Taft's light shone bright. As TR famously said, "If only there were three of you; I could appoint one of you to the Court, one to the War Department and one to the Philippines."

Theodore Roosevelt's pledge—on the night of his victorious 1904 election—to not seek a second full term in 1908, made Secretary Taft the odds-on Republican favorite to succeed him, even though Taft preferred the idea of becoming chief justice of the Supreme Court. Taft comfortably beat William Jennings Bryan in 1908, but he would lose in 1912 in an unusual four-way contest that included TR, Eugene Debs and Woodrow Wilson. Taft then returned to Yale to teach law before his appointment to the Supreme Court by President Harding in 1921.

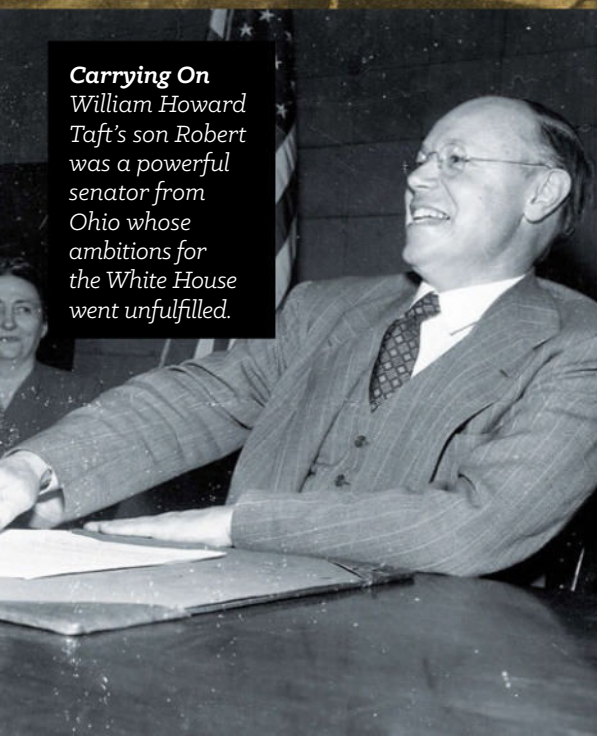
Seven years after William Taft's death, his eldest son, Robert was elected to the Senate in 1938. Senator Taft, who had worked for President Hoover, opposed New Deal policies and was staunchly noninterventionist before Pearl Harbor. A "Conservative Coalition" leader who called the New Deal socialist, he nonetheless supported public housing programs, spoke out against the KKK and opposed Prohibition and efforts to teach religion in public schools. Taft's conservatism nearly cost him re-election in 1944, when he won by just 18,000 votes, but in 1950 he won in a landslide. Taft's three bids for the party's nomination for president in 1940, 1948 and 1952 came up short. He became Senate majority leader in 1953, but soon after died of cancer.

His second son, Robert Jr., carried on the Taft legacy in Ohio by serving two terms in the U.S. House and one in the U.S. Senate. His son, Robert III, won election in 1998 to the first of two terms as governor. His tenure ended in scandals related to unreported gifts from lobbyists and shady investments of state funds, tarnishing the legacy of one of the nation's most enduring political families.



Big Man, Big Jobs

Sent by President Roosevelt to organize a government in the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, Taft became the Governor General.



Carrying On

William Howard Taft's son Robert was a powerful senator from Ohio whose ambitions for the White House went unfulfilled.



The Last Taft

In 1998 Robert III won the Ohio governor's office that had eluded the dynasty's founder, only to be sullied in scandals during his second term.



The Kennedys Charisma, Tragedy, Commitment

FOUNDER: Joseph P. Kennedy Sr. (1888-1969)

STOMPING GROUNDS: Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island

SPAN OF DYNASTY: 1947-present

SOURCE OF WEALTH: Business investments, stock trading, liquor imports

OFFICES, ACHIEVEMENTS: **John**, 35th President (1961-63), Massachusetts U.S. Senator (1953-60), U.S. Representative (1947-53) **Robert**, brother of John, Attorney General (1961-64), New York U.S. Senator (1965-68), candidate for Democratic nomination for president (1968) **Edward**, brother of John (1932-2009), Massachusetts U.S. Senator (1962-2009), candidate for Democratic nomination for President (1980) **Joseph P. II**, son of Robert, Massachusetts U.S. Representative (1987-99) **Patrick**, son of Edward, Rhode Island U.S. Representative (1995-2011) **Joseph P. III**, son of Joseph P. II, Massachusetts U.S. Representative (2013-present)

HIGHLIGHTS: **Joseph P. I**, first head of Securities and Exchange Commission; **John**, established Head Start, Peace Corps, signed nuclear test-ban treaty

LOWLIGHTS: **John** oversaw Bay of Pigs invasion; **Ted's** car accident at Chappaquiddick killed a campaign worker

Twist: **Robert** tried to talk Lyndon Johnson out of Democratic vice presidential spot on 1960 ticket—but Johnson had already been offered position by **John** and had accepted

Joseph P. Kennedy Sr. was a man of ambition—for himself and for his sons. His grandparents had emigrated from Ireland during the potato famine of the 1840s; his father was a local entrepreneur and political operative in Boston. Joseph went to Harvard and became a successful businessman and investor. He was friends with President Franklin Roosevelt, who named him the first head of the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1934 and ambassador to the United Kingdom in 1938. By the 1950s he was one of the richest men in America and nudging his well-educated and socially conscious sons to surpass his own achievements. Money, education, conviction and charisma: all combined to create one of the most prominent and powerful political families in America.

Kennedy, being Irish Catholic in sectarian Massachusetts, was a Democrat, and so, of course, were his Harvard-educated sons. His second, John F. (Jack) Kennedy, served in the Navy and married the elegant Jacqueline Bouvier. He was elected to the U.S. House in 1946, then to the Senate in 1952, serving there for seven years until his election as president in 1960—the first Catholic to occupy the Oval Office. Americans were star-

struck by the glamorous couple, even if their Camelot was more image than reality. An assassin's bullet ended John's life in Dallas in 1963.

Robert Kennedy, who had been his brother's attorney general, aimed to carry on John's agenda. He was elected U.S. senator from New York in 1964—and then in 1968 was on his way to the Democratic presidential nomination when he was murdered at a victory rally in Los Angeles after winning the California primary. It fell, then, to Edward (Ted) Kennedy, Joe's youngest child, to fill the political and family void left by his brothers. He was elected U.S. senator from Massachusetts in 1962 at age 30 and in that lawmaking role found his place: He served in Congress for 48 years, until his death in 2009—a liberal lion to the end. It was Ted who, by virtue of his longevity and legislative accomplishments, fulfilled the Kennedy family's personal promise and commitment to social improvement. In 1980 he launched a futile bid to depose President Jimmy Carter and win the Democratic nomination—but then he always seemed most comfortable in the Senate anyway.

Some of the children and a grandchild of those three Kennedys have carved out their own political careers, though in fainter light. Joseph P. Kennedy II, the oldest son of Robert and Ethel Kennedy, was a U.S. representative from Massachusetts from 1987 to 1999. His sister Kathleen Kennedy Townsend was Maryland lieutenant governor from 1995 to 2003 and ran unsuccessfully for governor in 2002. Ted Kennedy's two sons won public office, too: Edward M. Kennedy Jr. was a Connecticut state senator, and his older brother, Patrick J. Kennedy, was an eight-term U.S. congressman from Rhode Island. When he retired in 2011, it was the first time since 1947 that no Kennedy family members held public office.

The break didn't last long. In 2013 Joseph P. Kennedy III, the red-haired son of Joseph Kennedy II and grandson of Robert, was elected at age 35 to a U.S. House seat in the Massachusetts 4th Congressional district. He's the first of the third generation to hold public office. The Kennedys go on.



***Seeds of Greatness**
Joseph Kennedy
flanked by two of his
sons, John, left, and
Edward.*

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP MIDDLE: YALE JOE / THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES; KEN SACHS/CNP/DPA PICTURE ALLIANCE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; GEORGE SIK/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES; JENNIFER E. BERRY/HISTORNET; EVERETT COLLECTION INC./ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; PICTONAL PRESS LTD/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; HERITAGE AUCIONS; DALLAS



Next in Line
RFK's grandson, Joseph III, is the latest Kennedy in Congress.



Camelot Begins

JFK and Jackie, with Joseph and Rose Kennedy, are filled with anticipation on election day, 1960.

Thwarted Dreams

A 1968 Kennedy campaign button evoked the hope of the times.



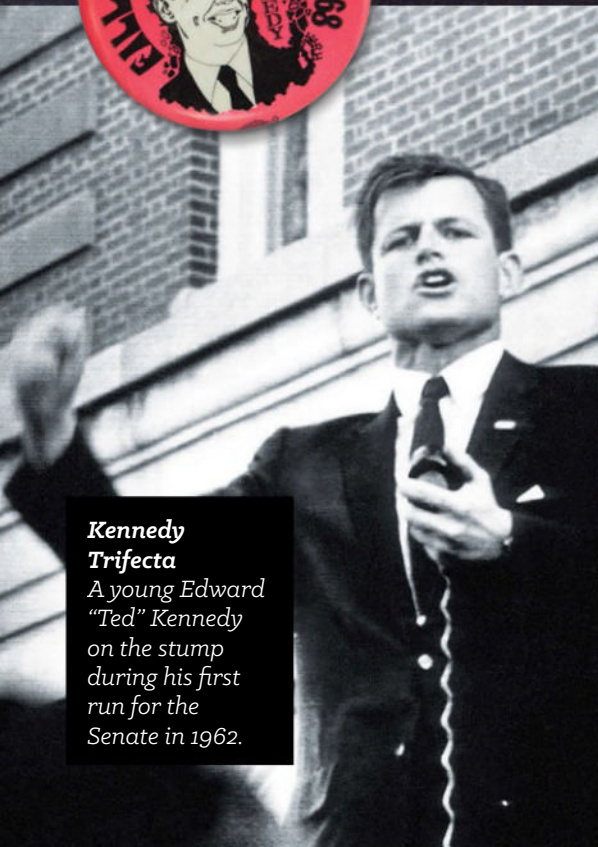
Family Man

Surrounded by Kennedy kids, including brother John's, Robert had 11 children of his own.



Kennedy Trifecta

A young Edward "Ted" Kennedy on the stump during his first run for the Senate in 1962.



The Bushes A Most Durable Dynasty

FOUNDER: Prescott Bush (1895-1972)

STOMPING GROUNDS: Connecticut, Texas, Florida

SPAN OF DYNASTY: 1952-present

SOURCE OF WEALTH: banking, oil, baseball, real estate

OFFICES, ACHIEVEMENTS: **Prescott** U.S. Senator from Connecticut (1952-63) **George Herbert Walker**, son of Prescott, 41st President (1989-93), 43rd Vice President (1981-89), Texas U.S. Representative (1967-71), lost U.S. Senate bids(1964, 1970), U.N. Ambassador (1971-73), CIA Director (1976-77) **George Walker**, 43rd President (2001-09), Governor of Texas (1995-2000) **Jeb**, Governor of Florida (1999-2007), Republican candidate for Governor of Florida (1994), candidate for Republican nomination for president (2016)

HIGHLIGHTS: **George H.W.** led coalition of nations in First Gulf War; **George W.** led nation in response to 9/11 terrorist attacks

LOWLIGHTS: **George W.** entered office with largest budget surplus in history, left office as nation fell into worst economic collapse since Great Depression; launched war on Iraq based on faulty intelligence

TWISTS: As Yale baseball team captain, **George H.W.** met Babe Ruth in 1948; a Bush has served as president or vice-president for 20 of the 28 years from 1981 to 2009

While the Kennedys never lost a general election, the other great post-World War II political dynasty, the Bushes, suffered and overcame repeated defeats. When Connecticut millionaire Prescott Bush first tested the electoral waters in 1950, the contest for the U.S. Senate seat was razor close, prompting the candidate to challenge the results. After the first three challenges were deemed insufficient, Bush conceded. Two years later Bush tried again, this time prevailing in another tight election and founding a political dynasty that has placed Bushes on the front lines of American political combat for more than half a century.

Prescott Bush was the son of Samuel Bush, who ran a steel company for Frank Rockefeller, brother of John D. Rockefeller. He served in World War I as an artillery officer and after Yale set his own course rather than work for his father. His marriage to Dorothy Walker led him to a vice-president position with the Wall Street firm Harriman Brothers, run by his father-in-law, George Herbert Walker. The two-term Senator Bush was in the moderate wing of his party, a critic of Joseph McCarthy's tactics and a supporter of civil rights.

Son George Herbert Walker Bush grew up privileged in Connecticut and attended Phillips Academy. When he joined the Navy at age 19 after the Japanese attack

on Pearl Harbor, he became the nation's youngest naval aviator, flying nearly 60 combat missions in the Pacific and earning the Distinguished Flying Cross. He followed his father's path to Yale, graduating in 1948. He ventured into the oil business, founding Zapata Petroleum Corporation in Texas and became a millionaire. He got involved in the state Republican Party and in 1964 won the Senate primary contest to face the incumbent Democrat who defeated him handily. Two years later Bush won a seat in the U.S. House and was re-elected in 1968. In 1970, at the urging of President Richard Nixon, Bush again ran for the Senate, but again lost. Nixon appointed him ambassador to the United Nations in 1971, and in 1973, during Watergate, he became chairman of the Republican National Committee. During the last year of the Ford administration, Bush served as CIA director. Bush made a bid for president in 1980 but got thumped in New Hampshire by Ronald Reagan, who won the Republican nomination. Though the two men were rivals, Reagan tapped Bush to be his running mate that year. Bush served two terms as vice president before teeing up for the top job in 1988, beating Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. Enormously popular in the wake of the First Gulf War, Bush fell out of favor as the economy faltered. In 1992 Bush became the first Republican president since Hoover to lose a re-election bid.

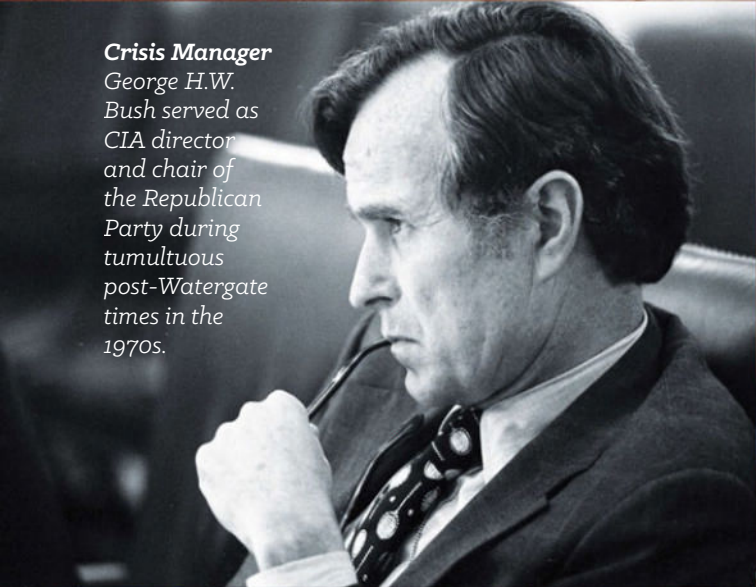
George H.W.'s first son, George, was born in Connecticut in 1941 but grew up in Texas, returning East to attend Phillips and Yale, like his father. With a master's degree in business from Harvard, Bush returned to Texas, going into the oil business and in 1978 running and losing in a bid for a House seat. During his father's tenure as vice president, George W. found financial success in the oil fields but struggled with—and ultimately overcame—a serious drinking problem. He worked diligently for his father's 1988 campaign and then hit a home run with his purchase of a share of the Texas Rangers. After his father's failed 1992 re-election campaign, Bush relaunched his political career and won the Texas governorship in 1994. Meanwhile in Florida, brother Jeb was vying for the governor's office after a two-year stint as the state's secretary of commerce. Following the family trend, Jeb Bush—narrowly—lost to the incumbent, but he got back on the horse four years later to win the first of two terms.

Back in Texas, George W. had high approval ratings and cruised to a landslide re-election in 1998, setting the stage for his bid to succeed the man who had beaten his father in 1992, Bill Clinton. In 2000, Bush lost New Hampshire—as his father did in 1980—to Senator John McCain, but ultimately won a fierce primary contest. In the general election he lost the popular vote by more than 500,000 but finally prevailed when a Supreme Court ruling sealed his win over Vice President Al Gore. The George W. Bush presidency proved to be one of the most eventful in American history, beset by terror, war and an economic disaster.

Voters will soon decide if the Bush dynasty continues.



Bush Beginnings
A young Barbara and George H.W. Bush with their son George W. and his grandparents Prescott and Dorothy, in 1950.



Crisis Manager
George H.W. Bush served as CIA director and chair of the Republican Party during tumultuous post-Watergate times in the 1970s.



Stand by Me
George W. Bush steadied the nation in New York on September 14, 2001.



Brother's Keeper
Florida governor Jeb Bush, with his big brother, and president, during the 2004 campaign.

Make it Three?
Jeb Bush throws his hat into the presidential ring on June 15, 2015.

The Breckinridges: Southern Conglomerate



Founder: John Breckenridge (1760-1806)
Stomping Grounds: Kentucky, Virginia, Arkansas
Span of Dynasty: 1801-1979 **Source of Wealth:** Property

Offices, Achievements: **John**, Kentucky U.S. Senator (1801-05), U.S. Attorney General (1805-06), **James**, brother of John, Virginia U.S. Representative (1809-17), **James**, cousin of John, Kentucky U.S. Representative (1821-23), **John C.**, grandson of John, 14th Vice President (1857-61), Kentucky U.S. Senator (1861), **William**, cousin of John C., Kentucky U.S. Representative (1885-95), **Clifton**, son of John C., Arkansas U.S. Representative (1883-94), **Henry D. Foster**, cousin of John C., Pennsylvania U.S. Representative (1843-47, 1871-73), **John B.**, great-great-grandson of John, Kentucky U.S. Representative (1973-79)

The Breckinridge family, best known for its political power in Kentucky and Virginia, is a network of Scotch-Irish achievers. John was attorney general. His grandson, John C., was vice president under James Buchanan. He was expelled from the Senate in December 1861 after proclaiming support for the Confederacy. He later served as the last Confederate secretary of war. Three Breckinridges were U.S. senators and several were in the U.S. House. Those not in politics were not exactly slackers—there were Breckinridge ambassadors, Confederate and U.S. army officers, bankers, fencing champions, Presbyterian ministers and a university president. John Cabell “Bunny” Breckinridge (1903-96) was a drag queen and played an alien in Ed Wood’s camp movie classic *Plan 9 From Outer Space*.



Gen. Frederick
Frelinghuysen

The Frelinghuysens: The Jersey Boys

Founder: Frederick Frelinghuysen (1753-1804) **Stomping Grounds:** New Jersey
Span of Dynasty: 1793-present **Source of Wealth:** Law, politics

Offices, Achievements: **Frederick**, New Jersey Continental Congress Delegate (1779), U.S. Senator (1793-96), **Theodore**, son of Frederick, U.S. Senator (1829-35), Whig Party candidate for Vice President (1844), **Frederick T.**, grandson of Frederick, U.S. Senator (1866-69, 1871-77), Secretary of State (1881-85), **Joseph**, great-grandson of Frederick, U.S. Senator (1917-23), **Peter**, great-grandson of Frederick T., U.S. Representative (1953-75), **Rodney**, son of Peter, U.S. Representative (1995-present)

The Frelinghuysen family has sent six generations to high public office. The founder, Frederick, was a framer of New Jersey’s first constitution and a U.S. senator. One of his sons, Theodore, served as U.S. Senator and led opposition to Andrew Jackson’s Indian Removal Act. Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, Theodore’s nephew and adopted son, was elected a New Jersey senator in 1866. He left the fam-



Vice President
Nelson Rockefeller
responds to hecklers.

Jay Rockefeller
served in the Senate
from West Virginia
for 30 years.

The Rockefellers: Petroleum Power

Founder: John D. Rockefeller Sr. (1839-1937)
Stomping Grounds: New York, West Virginia, Arkansas
Span of Dynasty: 1901-2015 **Source of Wealth:** Oil, real estate

Offices, Achievements: **Nelson**, 41st Vice President (1974-77), New York Governor (1959-73), **Winthrop**, brother of Nelson, Arkansas Governor (1967-71), **John (Jay)**, nephew of Nelson, West Virginia U.S. Senator (1985-2015), West Virginia Governor (1977-85)

The 1901 wedding of John D. Rockefeller’s son John Jr., and Abigail Aldrich, daughter of Rhode Island Senator Nelson Aldrich, combined great wealth with political power. Two of their sons won political office. Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller was elected to four terms as New York governor. He ran unsuccessfully for president four times but was Gerald Ford’s vice president. Nelson’s brother Winthrop was a two-term governor of Arkansas—the first Republican to hold that office since Reconstruction. Nelson Rockefeller’s nephew, John D. “Jay” Rockefeller IV, moved to West Virginia in 1964 to work in the VISTA anti-poverty program. He was elected to two terms as governor of West Virginia and five terms as U.S. senator before retiring in 2014.

ily fold politically to join the new Republican Party and served as secretary of state under President Chester Arthur. Peter Frelinghuysen was elected to the House in 1953, serving until 1975. Peter’s son Rodney, first elected in 1995, remains in the U.S. House. His great-grandmother, suffragist Louise Havemeyer, was jailed in 1919 for burning an effigy of President Wilson in front of the White House.

The Bayards: Delaware’s Deluxe

Founder: John Bubenheim Bayard (1738-1807) **Stomping Grounds:** Delaware, Pennsylvania
Span of Dynasty: 1774-1952 **Family Business:** Law

Offices, Achievements: **John**, Pennsylvania Continental Congress Delegate (1785-86), **James Sr.**, nephew of John, Delaware U.S. Senator (1804-13), U.S. Representative (1797-1803), **Richard**, son of James Sr., Delaware U.S. Senator (1836-39, 1841-45), **James Jr.**, son of James Sr., Delaware U.S. Senator (1851-64, 1887-69), **Thomas**, son of James Jr., Delaware U.S. Senator (1869-85), Secretary of State (1885-89), **Thomas Jr.**, son of Thomas Sr., Delaware U.S. Senator (1922-29); **Alexis I. du Pont Bayard**, son of Thomas Jr., Delaware Lt. Governor (1949-53)

John Bayard’s nephew, James Sr. served three terms in the U.S. House, helped elect Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800 and became a U.S. senator in 1804. Both of his sons became U.S. senators. One, Richard, married a granddaughter of the wealthiest signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll. Whereas Richard was a Whig, James Jr., entered the Senate as a Democrat in 1851. In 1864

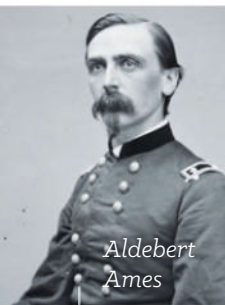
he resigned after refusing to sign an oath of allegiance to the government. James Jr.’s son, Thomas, was elected to his father’s Senate seat in 1869 and later served as Grover Cleveland’s secretary of state. His son, Thomas Jr., married the great-granddaughter of the du Pont family founder and in 1922 beat incumbent Senator Coleman du Pont (his wife’s cousin) to become the fifth Bayard to be a U.S. senator.



Alexis Bayard

A DOZEN DEMI-DYNASTIES

All dynasties are not created equal. Some that consist of just two or three generations have still had significant impact within a state or the nation.



Aldebert Ames



Mario Cuomo



John Jr. and Deborah Dingell



Gwen Graham



Lisa Murkowski



George and Lurleen Wallace

Armstrong—

New York, Pennsylvania
John, Pennsylvania Continental Congress (1778-79); **James**, son of John, Pennsylvania U.S. Representative (1793-95); **John II**, son of John, New York Continental Congress (1787-88), U.S. Senator (1800-02, 1803-04), Secretary of War (1813-14). John Armstrong was a Continental Army general, a Pennsylvania militia officer. John II was minister to France from 1804 to 1810; as secretary of war, he left Washington unprotected from attack in the War of 1812.

Butler/Ames—

Massachusetts, Mississippi
Benjamin Butler, U.S. Representative, Massachusetts (1867-75, 1877-79), Governor (1883-84); **Adelbert Ames**, son-in-law of Benjamin, Mississippi U.S. Senator (1870-74), Governor (1874-76); **Butler Ames**, grandson of Benjamin, Massachusetts U.S. Representative (1903-13). Benjamin Butler was a major general in the Union Army during the Civil War and a strong proponent of defining escaped slaves from the South as contraband to be used in the Union war effort. Authored the Third Ku Klux Klan (Enforcement) Act in 1871. Adelbert Ames, Butler's son-in-law, was an Army general in the Spanish-American War. His term as Mississippi governor was marked by white supremacist insurrections. Butler Ames was a businessman, inventor and politician.

Calhoun—

South Carolina
John C., 7th Vice President (1825-32), Secretary of State (1844-45), Secretary of War (1817-25), U.S. Representative (1811-17); **Joseph**, cousin of John C., U.S. Representative (1807-11); **John E.**, cousin of John C., U.S. Senator (1801-02). John Calhoun was one of the "immortal trio" of congressional leaders, along with Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. A political theorist, Calhoun was a proponent of states' rights and nullification—and an influential defender of slavery, which inspired the secessionists of 1860-61. He was called the "castiron man" for his ideological rigidity.

Chafee—

Rhode Island
John, Governor (1963-69), U.S. Senator (1976-99); **Lincoln**, son of John, U.S. Senator (1999-2007), Governor (2010-2015), ran for Democratic nomination for President (2016). John Chafee was a liberal governor, then secretary of the Navy under Richard Nixon. In the Senate he advocated bipartisanship and was considered the last of the Rockefeller Republicans. Son Lincoln was a GOP senator who opposed many of his party's policies, becoming a Democrat in 2013.

Cuomo—

New York
Mario, Governor (1983-94); **Andrew**, son of Mario, Governor (2011-present). Mario Cuomo was a spellbinding orator and powerful liberal voice in the Democratic Party. He flirted with a number of presidential bids

but never ran, earning the nickname "Hamlet on the Hudson."

Dingell—

Michigan
John Sr., U.S. House of Representatives (1933-55); **John Jr.**, U.S. House of Representatives (1955-2015), **Deborah**, U.S. House of Representatives (2016-present). John Sr. was a New Deal Democrat representing West Detroit who, in 1943, with two senators, introduced the first bill proposing a national health-care system. It failed, but he re-introduced the bill in every new Congress for the rest of his legislative career. John Jr. continued that tradition after winning his father's seat in 1955. He served in the House for just short of 60 years—the longest congressional tenure in U.S. history. A staunch progressive on labor, health and social welfare issues and a powerful member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, colleagues called him "the truck" because of his combative personality. He retired in 2015, at age 88. His wife, Deborah, 27 years younger, ran for his House seat and won it, making 84 straight years that a Dingell has represented eastern Michigan in Congress.

Graham—

Florida
Bob, Governor (1979-87) U.S. Senator (1987-2005), ran for Democratic nomination for President (2004); **Gwen**, daughter of Bob, U.S. Representative (2015-present). Bob Graham was a popular governor who expanded environmental

protections in Florida and boosted the public university system. He spent 408 days working different jobs performed by Floridians. As U.S. senator, he was chairman of the Intelligence Committee.

Mack—

Florida
Connie III, U.S. Representative (1983-89), U.S. Senator (1989-2001); **Connie IV**, U.S. Representative (2005-2013). Connie Mack III, born Cornelius McGillicuddy III, is the only Republican senator to be elected to more than one term in Florida. A cancer survivor, one of his policy priorities was funding for cancer and biomedical research. His grandfather was Connie Mack I, a storied professional baseball manager from 1894 to 1950.

Moore/Capito—

West Virginia
Arch, U.S. Representative (1957-69), Governor (1969-77 and 1985-89); **Shelley Moore Capito**, daughter of Arch, U.S. Representative (2001-15), U.S. Senator (2015-present). Arch Moore was a charismatic Republican populist in a state with a deep Democratic Party tradition. In 1990 he was convicted of multiple felony corruption charges and spent nearly three years in prison.

Murkowski—

Alaska
Frank, U.S. Senator (1981-2002), Governor (2002-06); **Lisa**, daughter of Frank, U.S. Senator (2002-present). Frank was a staunch Republican conservative in the Senate and an unpopular governor. Daughter Lisa lost

the GOP Senate nomination in 2010 but was re-elected to her second term via write-in vote—the first senator to do that since Strom Thurmond in 1954.

Stockton—

New Jersey
Richard I, Delegate to Continental Congress (1776); **Richard II**, son of Richard I, U.S. Senator (1769-99), U.S. Representative (1813-15); **Robert**, grandson of Richard I, U.S. Representative (1851-53); **John**, great-grandson of Richard I, U.S. Senator (1865-66, 1869-75). Richard Stockton I was the son of John Stockton, whose land donation led to the creation of Princeton University. He was a lawyer, colonial legislator and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Robert, grandson of Richard I, was a U.S. Navy commodore and Mexican-American war hero prior to entering Congress. He captured Los Angeles and became the second military governor of California (1846-1847). As a senator, John Stockton voted against the 14th Amendment, which failed to pass by one vote. The Senate ousted him in response, but he was subsequently reappointed.

Wallace—

Alabama
George, Governor (1963-67, 1971-79, 1983-87), ran for Democratic presidential nomination four times (1964, 1968, 1972, 1976); **Lurleen**, wife of George, Governor (1967-68). Wallace personified Southern resistance to civil rights. ★

Matchless Pair

Even if Hillary Clinton doesn't land the presidency, her political achievements coupled with her husband's comprise a record unlikely to be matched.

Dynamic Duos

By Richard Ernsberger Jr.

Extraordinary women, from Abigail Adams to Eleanor Roosevelt, have played undeniably critical roles in our political history. Many wives who survived their husbands in office have made their own mark, but rare are the partners who have independently reached the highest levels of power. Two couples, the Clintons and Doles, have been in the limelight of American politics for much of the past quarter of a century—and one is vying to stay there for at least four more years.



Bill and Hillary Clinton are not a political dynasty—they just seem like one after playing big roles on the nation's political and governing stage for the last quarter century. Bill Clinton was a two-term president (1993-2001) and remains a Democratic Party titan; he was instrumental in getting Barack Obama reelected as president in 2012. Hillary Clinton has been a U.S. senator and secretary of state and is now making her second bid for the presidency, having been beaten by Obama for the Democratic Party nomination in 2008. The Clintons are arguably the most powerful couple since Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

More than husband and wife, the Clintons are a pair of ambitious, well-educated achievers who each took a

serious interest in public policy at an early age. Bill Clinton, who grew up modestly in Hope, Ark., went to Georgetown University and became a Rhodes Scholar. Hillary Rodham was the first student commencement speaker ever at Wellesley College. Both went on to earn law degrees at Yale, where they met. Though Hillary flirted with moderate Republicanism as an undergraduate, she and her husband share the same progressive political philosophy. And like Barack and Michelle Obama, the Clintons have been the scourge of conservatives who have tried desperately to demonize them. Bill Clinton, with support from his wife, survived charges of marital infidelity during his first presidential campaign—and impeachment for lying



Double the Doles
Liddy Dole, with Bob at her side, declares victory in her 2002 race for the Senate.

about his affair with a White House intern. For most Americans, it seems, Bill Clinton's brains and southern charm have overcome his perceived moral shortcomings.

Bill Clinton got an early political start. He was elected Arkansas attorney general in 1976, and two years later was governor—at age 32, the nation's youngest. He served as Arkansas governor for 12 years. Like Jimmy Carter before him, Clinton was an upstart Southern candidate for president and, in 1992, parlayed centrist liberalism and an impressive grasp of the issues into a victory over incumbent George H.W. Bush. Clinton served two terms during a period of robust economic growth that gilded his reputation.

Hillary Clinton always had her own ambitions and policy goals. She was a children's rights scholar and legal advocate for years, and was active as first lady of Arkansas. During Clinton's first presidential term, she chaired task forces that aimed to comprehensively reform America's health-care system. That 1993 initiative failed—but she championed other legislative bills that Congress passed into law, including the Adoption and Safe Families Act (1997) and Foster Care Independence Act (1999). After her husband's presidency, Hillary stepped to the fore, winning a U.S. Senate seat from New York in 2000—the only former first lady to ever run for elected office. She served in Congress for eight years and ran for president in 2008, before Obama appointed her secretary of state in 2009. In that position she took a pragmatic approach to foreign relations. She resigned at the end of Obama's first term to focus on her current presidential bid.

If she succeeds, Hillary Clinton would be the nation's first woman president. And former president Bill Clinton would become the first “first gentleman”: A power couple come full circle. If she doesn't win, the Clintons' star status might start to fade—unless the couple's only child, 35-year-old Chelsea, decides to pursue a political career. She could take hold of the political baton carried by her parents for a generation, if she is so inclined.

The Republicans had a dynamic duo of their own for about 30 years starting in 1975—Bob and Elizabeth “Liddy” Dole. Bob Dole was a senator from Kansas who held office for five terms before his resignation in 1996. He was twice the Senate majority leader, former head of the Republican National Committee—and he ran for president three times. In 1996 he was the GOP presidential nominee but lost to President Bill Clinton. Mrs. Dole, born Mary Elizabeth Alexander Hanford, was a cabinet member in the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations. She had brief presidential ambitions in 2000 but lacked the money for a serious bid. Two years later she won election to the Senate from her home state of North Carolina.

Born in 1923, Robert Joseph Dole grew up in Russell, Kan. His father ran a small creamery. He was a three-sport athlete at the University of Kansas before World War II interrupted his education. While he was in the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division, he was seriously wounded in Italy, losing the use of his right arm. He was decorated three times—two Purple Hearts and a Bronze Star for valor. After a long convalescence, he earned his law degree and served as Russell County attorney for eight years before his election to the House of Representatives in 1960. Eight years later he won election to the Senate. In 1976 Gerald Ford picked Dole to be his running mate—but Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale defeated the GOP ticket and Dole returned to the Senate.

Elizabeth Hanford was once described as a “charismatic careerist.” She earned a Harvard law degree and then made her way to Washington, which, she said, attracted her “like a magnet.” She got a job in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare then landed a spot in the Office of Consumer Affairs in the Lyndon Johnson administration. After Richard Nixon was elected, she stayed on to be his deputy assistant for consumer affairs. When she and Dole married in 1975, she was working for the Federal Trade Commission. President Ronald Reagan appointed her secretary of transportation, where she got mixed reviews before resigning to help with her husband's 1988 presidential bid. In 1989 President George H.W. Bush appointed her secretary of labor. Though not an ally of organized labor, she spearheaded Occupational Safety and Health Administration reform initiatives. After a long stint as president of the American Red Cross, Mrs. Dole was elected to the Senate in 2002. She lost her reelection bid to Kay Hagan in 2008. She later established the Elizabeth Dole Foundation, which provides support to military family caregivers. Her husband, who will be 93 this summer, is special counsel at the law firm Alston & Bird—and still expressing his political opinions. ★

Stepping Into Their Husbands' Shoes

Nearly 50 women have filled their spouse's office and many went on to long and distinguished careers

THE SENATE	THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES				
 Hattie Wyatt Caraway (D-AR) SWORN IN: 1931 SERVED: 14 years	 Mae Ella Nolan (R-CA) SWORN IN: 1923 SERVED: 2 years	 Florence Prag Kahn (R-CA) SWORN IN: 1925 SERVED: 12 years	 Edith Nourse Rogers (R-MA) SWORN IN: 1925 SERVED: 35 years	 Pearl Peden Oldfield (D-AR) SWORN IN: 1929 SERVED: 2 years	 Effiegene Locke Wingo (D-AR) SWORN IN: 1930 SERVED: 3 years
 Rose McConnell Long (D-LA) SWORN IN: 1936 SERVED: 1 year	 Willa McCord Blake Eslick (D-TN) SWORN IN: 1932 SERVED: 7 months	 Marian Williams Clarke (R-NY) SWORN IN: 1934 SERVED: 1 year	 Elizabeth Hawley Gasque (D-SC) SPECIAL ELECTION: 1938 SERVED: 4 months	 Frances Bolton (R-OH) SWORN IN: 1940 SERVED: 29 years	 Margaret Chase Smith* (R-ME) SWORN IN: 1940 SERVED: 9 years
 Vera Cahalan Buchfield (R-SD) SWORN IN: 1948 SERVED: 3 months	 Florence Reville Gibbs (D-GA) SWORN IN: 1940 SERVED: 3 months	 Clara Gooding McMillan (D-SC) SWORN IN: 1940 SERVED: 1 year	 Katharine Edgar Byron (D-MD) SWORN IN: 1941 SERVED: 2 years	 Veronica Grace Boland (D-PA) SWORN IN: 1942 SERVED: 2 months	 Willa Lybrand Fulmer (D-SC) SWORN IN: 1944 SERVED: 2 months
 Maurine Brown Neuberger (D-OR) SWORN IN: 1960 SERVED: 6 years	 Vera Daerr Buchanan (D-PA) SWORN IN: 1951 SERVED: 4 years	 Marguerite Stitt Church (R-IL) SWORN IN: 1951 SERVED: 12 years	 Maude Elizabeth Kee (D-WV) SWORN IN: 1951 SERVED: 14 years	 Leonor K. Sullivan (D-MO) SWORN IN: 1953 SERVED: 24 years	 Mary Elizabeth Pruett Farrington (R-HI) SWORN IN: 1954 SERVED: 2 years
 Maryon Pittman Allen (D-AL) SWORN IN: 1978 SERVED: 5 months	 Kathryn Elizabeth Granahan (D-PA) SWORN IN: 1956 SERVED: 6 years	 Edna Oakes Simpson (R-IL) SWORN IN: 1959 SERVED: 2 years	 Catherine Dorris Norrell (D-AR) SWORN IN: 1961 SERVED: 2 years	 Louise Goff Reece (R-TN) SWORN IN: 1961 SERVED: 2 years	 Corinne Boyd Riley (D-SC) SWORN IN: 1962 SERVED: 9 months
 Muriel Buck Humphrey (D-MN) SWORN IN: 1978 SERVED: 9 months	 Irene Bailey Baker (R-TN) SWORN IN: 1964 SERVED: 10 months	 Lera Millard Thomas (D-TX) SWORN IN: 1966 SERVED: 9 months	 Elizabeth B. Andrews (D-AL) SWORN IN: 1972 SERVED: 9 months	 Corinne "Lindy" Bogs (D-LA) SWORN IN: 1973 SERVED: 18 years	 Cardiss Collins (D-IL) SWORN IN: 1973 SERVED: 24 years
 Jocelyn Birch Burdick (D-ND) SWORN IN: 1992 SERVED: 3 months	 Shirley N. Pettis (R-CA) SWORN IN: 1975 SERVED: 4 years	 Beverly Baron Butcher Byron (D-MD) SWORN IN: 1979 SERVED: 14 years	 Jean Ashbrook (R-OH) SWORN IN: 1982 SERVED: 6 months	 Sala Burton (D-CA) SWORN IN: 1983 SERVED: 4 years	 Catherine S. Long (D-LA) SWORN IN: 1985 SERVED: 2 years
 Jean Carnahan (D-MO) SWORN IN: 2001 SERVED: 2 years	 Jo Ann Emerson (R-MO) SWORN IN: 1996 SERVED: 16 years	 Mary Bono (R-CA) SWORN IN: 1998 SERVED: 15 years	 Lois Capps (D-CA) SWORN IN: 1998 SERVED: still in office	 Doris Matsui (D-CA) SWORN IN: 2005 SERVED: still in office	<i>*Margaret Chase Smith also won election to the aserved for 24 years.</i>

ALL SENATORS: U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE; ALL REPRESENTATIVES: COLLECTION OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; EXCEPT: BOLTON, MCMILLAN, ROGERS: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Wise Men

Perhaps no family in American history better exemplifies the commitment to public service than the Kennedys. During his tenure in the White House, John F. Kennedy sought advice and insights from elites who, like him, considered it an obligation to serve the nation.

Last Chapter for Noblesse Oblige?

Is the maxim long held by many great American political dynasties 'To whom much is given, much is required,' a relic of the past? *By Evan Thomas*



In our 1986 book, *The Wise Men*, about the heyday of the post-World War II WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) establishment, Walter Isaacson and I described a scene from the first days of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In October 1962, when a CIA spy plane discovered Soviet missiles in Cuba, President John F. Kennedy phoned a retired Wall Street investment banker named Robert Lovett at his home in New York. “Come down at once,”

the president commanded. Lovett had been a senior State and Defense Department official during the early years of the Cold War. Kennedy thought so highly of Lovett that at the beginning of his administration he had offered him the choice of three jobs: secretary of state, defense or the treasury. (The 68-year-old had declined, citing ill health.) At the White House Lovett was briefed on the crisis by McGeorge Bundy, the president’s nation-

al security adviser. Lovett noticed on Bundy's desk a photograph of Henry Stimson, Franklin Roosevelt's secretary of war and a kind of patron saint to Bundy and Lovett. (They had all been in Skull and Bones, the Yale secret society.) Lovett invoked Stimson now: "Mac, I think the best service we can perform for the president is to try to approach this as Colonel Stimson would."

Bundy instantly agreed. Lovett did not need to spell out what he meant: to approach the problem with the right mixture of stand-up toughness and diplomatic restraint. Stimson, Lovett and Bundy were all charter members of the East Coast foreign policy establishment that quietly, decorously but firmly pushed for a strong American role in the world as avatar and defender of freedom and free markets.

These establishment stalwarts believed that foreign policy should rise above partisan politics. When FDR, a Democrat, appointed Stimson, a Republican, as secretary of war in 1940, Stimson insisted on a truly bipartisan effort and FDR agreed, also naming Henry Knox, a Republican newspaper publisher, as secretary of the Navy. The choice was fine with Stimson; Stimson's friend Theodore Roosevelt, FDR's presidential cousin, had once introduced Knox to Stimson with a one-sentence letter: "He's just our type!"

And what was that type? Men schooled by the Ivy League, often born to wealth, who shared certain assumptions, most admirably the duty to serve. *Cui Servire Est Regnare* – to Serve is to Rule—is the motto of Groton, one of the prep schools that served as training ground for this elite. Graduates of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, Groton, Andover (motto: *Non Sibi*, Not for Thyself) and St. Paul's, who migrated between Wall Street and Washington in the first half of the 20th Century felt bonds of class, education and attitude that were distinctive. They tended to be hawkish but not belligerent, more attuned to a balance of power than ideology, more practical than dreamily idealistic. They looked down on social snobs and avoided rigid class (or ethnic or religious) bias, but they were more comfortable inside the "Tomb" at Skull and Bones than out on the political hustings. (Bundy and Stimson each ran for public office once and lost badly.)

That American ruling-class type, once described by the columnist Joe Alsop as the "WASP Ascendancy," has been mostly in

decline for the past half-century or so, with occasional brief revivals (the 2004 election between George W. Bush of Andover and Yale and John Kerry of St. Paul's and Yale guaranteed a Skull and Bones president). Only about one in eight undergrads at Yale today, for example are white male Protestants, and the idea of noblesse oblige seems not just quaint but vaguely repugnant to the meritocrats who now mostly fill the seats at elite schools.

I have seen the transition close up. I graduated from Colonel Stimson's prep school, Andover, in 1969 and Harvard in 1973, just as the old order was giving way. From 2004 to 2014 I taught journalism and writing at Harvard and Princeton. My students were impressive indeed. They were smarter and harder working than their prep school forbears. But they were wary of going into government—even the students who were ostensibly training to go into government.

Years ago Princeton broadened its motto from "In the Nation's Service" to add "and in the Service of All Nations." Students were meant to adopt a generic meaning to public service, to include working for nongovernmental organizations, as well as, say, the State Department. But many students just headed straight for well-paying jobs on Wall Street and in the private sector. The Robertson family, which had generously endowed the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs in the early 1960s explicitly to train Foreign Service officers, sued the university, claiming that very few Princeton grads were joining the State Department. The suit was settled after embarrassing publicity.

I often talked to my Princeton students, graduate and undergraduate, about their attitudes toward government service. They were wary and skeptical. They described the federal government in general and the Foreign Service in particular as stultifyingly bureaucratic. They had heard of older peers who had passed the Foreign Service exam and spent the next year waiting to be assigned—only to learn that there were no assignments and that they had to re-apply. To high achievers accustomed to regular affirmation, these stories are highly discouraging. More immediate success—and much greater material reward—await on Wall Street. In the tradition of Bob Lovett and several of the Wise Men of yore, some of these upwardly mobile meritocrats say they plan to enter public life after making their fortunes.



Stimson's World
Henry Stimson, right, reviews a map of Europe with Gen. George Marshall during World War II.



Best, Brightest
McGeorge Bundy (center), adviser to JFK and LBJ, in Vietnam in 1965.



Ubiquitous
Mapping out the future in 1945. Averell Harriman, behind Stalin, Truman and Churchill.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: CORBIS; LULU/STEIN BILD VIA GETTY IMAGES; CORBIS; LULU/STEIN BILD VIA GETTY IMAGES; BETTMANN/CORBIS



Statesmen

Robert Lovett (center), meets with Averell Harriman (left) and Dean Acheson at the White House in 1951.



Andover Boys

George H.W. Bush (front, center) at the elite training ground for generations of leaders, Phillips Academy.



There is still precedent: In recent years Goldman Sachs has produced a White House chief of staff, Josh Bolton, and two treasury secretaries, Robert Rubin and Henry Paulson. But modern disclosure and conflict-of-interest rules have made for a tricky and onerous path from private to public life.

Electoral politics seemed even more off-putting to most of my students. Of course, WASP gentlemen themselves were averse to politics in the late 19th century. Theodore Roosevelt stood out from his snobbish peers by plunging into the messy political arena of the New York State Assembly. Some of his brothers in Harvard's Porcellian Club worried that he would demean himself.

But by the beginning of the 20th century, more and more young men of privilege were going into public service. The model was Elihu Root, a Wall Street lawyer whom Teddy Roosevelt made his secretary of state. Root's protégé, in turn, was Henry Stimson, and Stimson's protégés were future Wise Men like Robert Lovett. The string began to run out in the 1960s with McGeorge Bundy and the failure of the "best and brightest" in Vietnam. Government became bigger, more bureaucratic, more accountable but also more unwieldy. When Lovett and Dean Acheson were top State Department officials after World War II, creating the Marshall Plan and the Western Alliance, there was no national security staff in the White House. Policy was made with Harry Truman's aide Clark Clifford over lunch at the F Street Club.

Jon Meacham has published a magnificent biography of George H.W. Bush that

encapsulates vividly the rise and fall of the WASP elite and its faded tradition of noblesse oblige. Bush's father, Prescott had followed a well-traveled path between Wall Street and Washington, serving as a U.S. senator from Connecticut after profiting as an investment banker at a firm where his partners (and Skull and Bones brothers) included Bob Lovett and Averell Harriman. In East Coast establishment fashion, George Bush served in appointed offices and also campaigned successfully for Congress and as Ronald Reagan's running mate before reaching the presidency. Sometimes the sons of great men struggle and fail, but two of Bush's sons went on to be governors, and George W. outdid his father by winning a second term.

It is in George H.W. Bush's loss to Bill Clinton that we can understand the glory and the pathos of the WASP establishment. In 1988 Bush pandered to the Republican base by vowing, "Read my lips: No new taxes." In 1991 he had to go back on his word to slow the spiraling federal deficit. That budget deal helped pave the way for a decade of robust economic growth. But it cost him dearly at the polls—as Bush knew it would. By doing the right thing, Bush probably doomed himself politically. Meacham's biography begins with an introduction titled "The Last Gentleman," which portrays Bush's WASP sense of fair play, his humility (notwithstanding his ambition) and his devotion to public service. Today Jeb Bush is struggling as a presidential candidate. He seems uncomfortable on the reality-show stage of modern politics. The Bush era, like the WASP Ascendancy from which it came, may be over. But in some but certainly not all ways, it should be missed. ★

A bestselling author and historian, Evan Thomas' latest book is *Being Nixon, A Man Divided*.

TOP JOBS FOR TOP GRADS

High-stakes careers in the public sector, such as at the State Department and the CIA, attracted the interest of Ivy League students in the 1950s. In the 1970s careers in law, medicine and business took the lead. Over the past decade careers in consulting, finance and technology garner the most interest, with roughly a third of students at elite schools now choosing careers in those sectors. University of California, San Diego, sociologist Amy Binder and colleagues recently took a close look at how students and recent graduates of two premier institutions—Harvard and Stanford—choose their first jobs. Lengthy interviews with more than 50 students revealed that early recruitment powerfully influenced student choices. Firms such as Google, Facebook, Microsoft and the consulting companies Bain and McKinsey aggressively solicit Ivy League students. They create a competitive climate for entry analyst positions that offer not only high pay but also job stability and—important for students graduating from the nation's most competitive colleges—prestige. Nearly half of the Harvard and Stanford groups interviewed were headed for careers in finance, consulting and technology.

Many students noted the role their schools played in promoting these careers. One student said that Harvard's Office of Career Services divided jobs into consulting, finance, nonprofit and other. Students knew little about consulting careers prior to the recruiting events. The report notes, "Harvard and Stanford facilitate structures and environments that encourage students to enter sectors that have all-too-recently demonstrated their lack of concern for other people and for society itself."

A third of the students, however, considered "impact careers"—in education, public service, nonprofits, philanthropy and journalism. Just over half of this group came from working-class backgrounds.



NEXT STOP

Where Harvard and Stanford students and recent alumni want jobs (based on 56 interviews)

FINANCE OR CONSULTING: **55%**

HIGH-TECH: **27%**

PRE-MED, PRE-LAW, CORPORATE MANAGEMENT, OTHER PRE-PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS: **9%**

"IMPACT CAREERS" (PUBLIC SERVICE, NONPROFITS, EDUCATION, JOURNALISM): **30%**

UNSURE: **5%**

ANY JOB BUT POLITICS!

Young Americans who have grown up among gridlock and hyper-partisanship reject political careers

Percentage of young adults who say they would consider the job of president: 2004 **20 percent** 2012 **6 percent**

75%

say improving their community is important



Top Job Picks

Business owner
Teacher

Least Desirable of 20 Jobs (as chosen by subjects who had to pick three careers from a list):

- #17 Mayor
- #18 Member of Congress
- #19 President
- #20 Electrician or plumber



PIPELINE FOR POLS GOING DRY

113th Congress (2012-2014)
Average age of member of U.S. House of Representatives: **57**
Percentage younger than 40: **8.5**

Average age of U.S. Senator: **62**
Average age of state legislators: **56**
Percentage younger than 35: **4**

11%

Percentage of young citizens who have thought about running for office

Source: *Running from Office: Why Young Americans Are Turned Off to Politics*, by Jennifer Lawless and Richard L. Fox, Oxford University Press, 2015

Goodbye Dynasty, Hello Celebrity

IN THE YEARLONG RUN UP TO THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES, conventional wisdom had it that the dominant political family brands of the last quarter century, Clinton and Bush, would have the inside track to victory within their parties. Certainly on the fund raising side the name brands

won big bucks early. But, at least in Jeb Bush's case, it appears his gold-plated name may not be helping him among rank and file Republicans, who are choosing from an array of colorful and blustery candidates. Thus far, still in the top tier are those who have leveraged their celebrity to greatest effect.

OLD SCHOOL

Jeb Bush

Serving eight years as Florida governor and being the fourth in his family to hold high public office has not helped Bush gain much traction—and may have hurt him.

Education: BA University of Texas, Austin

Estimated net worth:

\$10 million

THE ROGUE

Donald Trump

Trump insists that being a blustery dealmaker and impresario who has never served in public office is a strength, not a weakness.

Education:

BS University of Pennsylvania

Estimated net worth:

\$4-10 billion

INSIDER OUTSIDER

Chris Christie

Christie campaigns as a tough-love, no-nonsense straight talker who has worked his way up through the Republican ranks.

Education: BA University of Delaware, Newark; JD Seton Hall

Estimated net worth:

\$4 million

BEDROCK

Bernie Sanders

Sanders, who became a Democrat in 2015, has a firm hold on outsider status as the longest-serving independent in U.S. history and Congress's only democratic socialist.

Education: BA University of Chicago

Estimated net worth: \$330,506

ANTI-CELEBRITY

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Rather than inheriting a halo of celebrity like many political spouses, Hillary Clinton is the candidate everyone loves to hate, yet her indefatigability, tenacity, resilience—and long resume—command respect.

Education: BA Wellesley College; JD Yale Law

Estimated net worth:

\$21.5 million

CRUSADER

Ted Cruz

Burnishing his credentials among evangelical Republicans to increase turnout is first-term Texas Senator Cruz's strategy.

Education: BA Princeton;

JD Harvard Law

Estimated net worth:

\$3.17 million

STORYTELLER

Ben Carson

Carson borrows a page from the Barack Obama playbook with an inspiring life story of overcoming obstacles with ambition and determination.

Education: BA Yale;

MD University of Michigan

Medical School

Estimated net worth:

\$10 million

NEW BLOOD

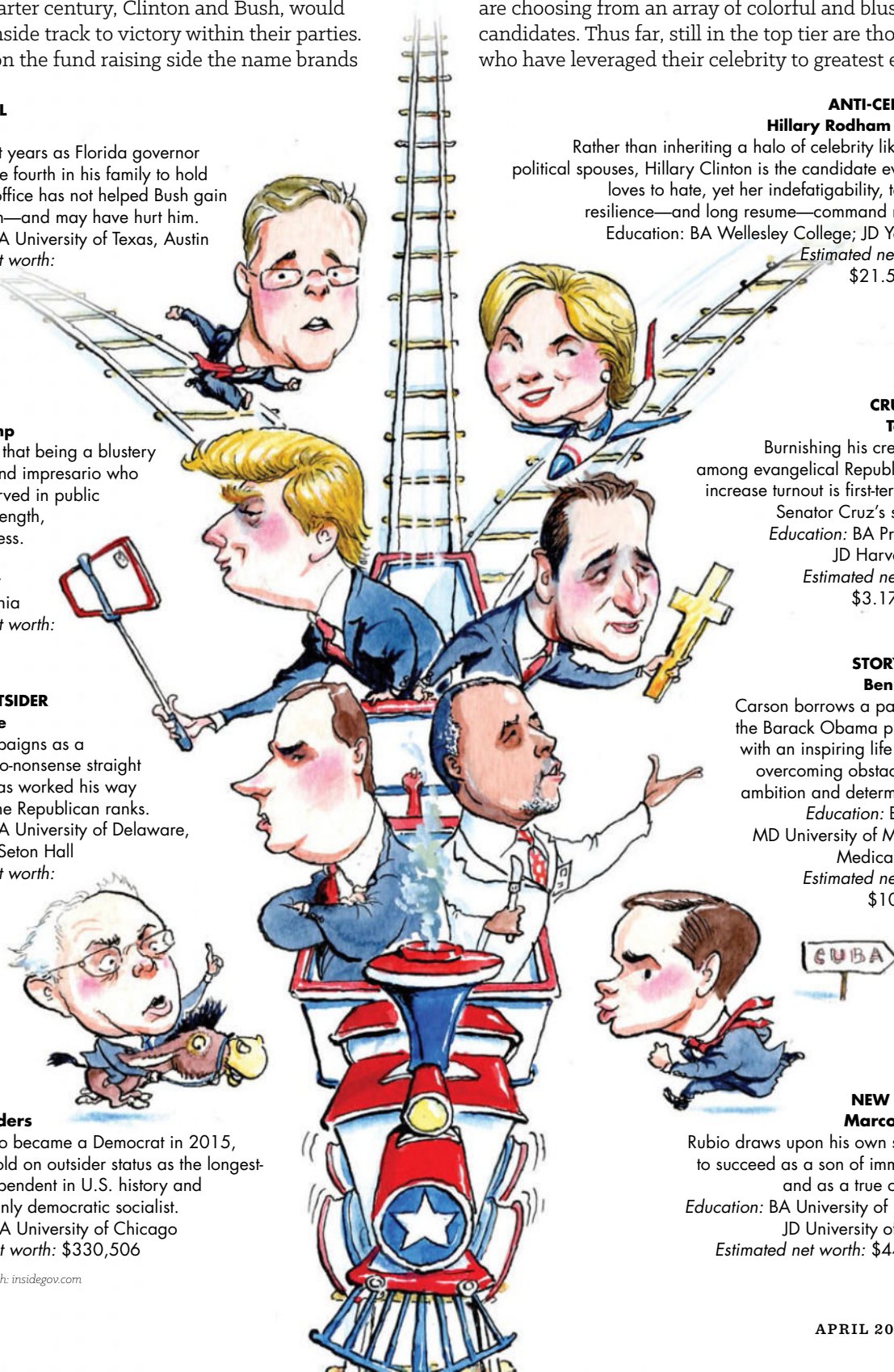
Marco Rubio

Rubio draws upon his own struggle to succeed as a son of immigrants and as a true outsider.

Education: BA University of Florida;

JD University of Miami

Estimated net worth: \$443,500



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Wilmington, NC

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Lebanon, KY is home to the Lebanon National Cemetery, its own Civil War Park, and it's part of the John Hunt Morgan Trail.

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History lives in Tupelo, Mississippi. Visit Brice's Crossroads National Battlefield, Natchez Trace Parkway, Tupelo National Battlefield, Mississippi Hills Exhibit Center and more.



Richmond, Kentucky

"Part of the One and Only Bluegrass!" Visit National Historic Landmark, National Civil War Trust tour, historic ferry, and the third largest planetarium of its kind in the world!



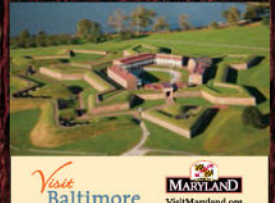
Visit Chattanooga's pivotal Civil War sites that changed America forever. Combine your stay in this top rated tourism destination with other world-class attractions, music festivals and unique dining.



A vacation in Georgia means great family experiences that can only be described as pretty sweet. Explore Georgia's Magnolia Midlands.



Experience the Civil War in Jacksonville at the Museum of Military History. Relive one of Arkansas' first stands at the Reed's Bridge Battlefield. jacksonvillesoars.com/museum.php



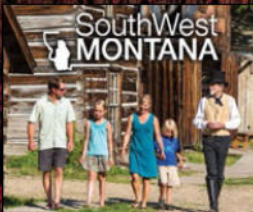
Explore the past in Baltimore during two commemorative events: the War of 1812 Bicentennial and Civil War 150. Plan your trip at Baltimore.org.



Are you a history and culture buff? There are many museums and attractions, Civil War, and Civil Rights sites just for you in Jackson, Mississippi.



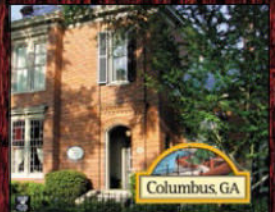
Experience living history for *The Battles of Marietta Georgia*, featuring reenactments, tours and a recreation of 1864 Marietta. www.mariettacivilwar.com



Experience the Old West in action with a trip through Southwest Montana. For more information on our 15 ghost towns, visit southwestmt.com or call 800-879-1159, ext 1501.



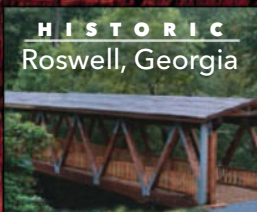
The Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area highlights the historic, cultural, natural, scenic and recreational treasures of this distinctive region. www.mississippihills.org



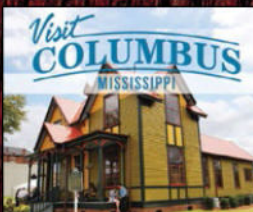
Once Georgia's last frontier outpost, now its third largest city, Columbus is a true destination of choice. History, theater, arts and sports—Columbus has it all.



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Whether you love history, culture, the peacefulness of the great outdoors, or the excitement of entertainment, Roswell offers a wide selection of attractions and tours. www.visitroswellga.com



Over 650 grand historic homes in three National Register Historic Districts. Birthplace of America's greatest playwright, Tennessee Williams. The ultimate Southern destination—Columbus, MS.



Six major battles took place in Winchester and Frederick County, and the town changed hands approximately 72 times—more than any other town in the country! www.visitwinchesterva.com



Tishomingo County, MS

With a variety of historic attractions and outdoor adventures, Tishomingo County is a perfect destination for lovers of history and nature alike.



History surrounds Cartersville, GA, including Allatoona Pass, where a fierce battle took place, and Cooper's Furnace, the only remnant of the bustling industrial town of Etowah.



Tennessee's Farragut Folklife Museum is a treasure chest of artifacts telling the history of the Farragut and Concord communities, including the Admiral David Glasgow Farragut collection.



Seven museums, an 1890 railroad, a British fort and an ancient trade path can be found on the Furs to Factories Trail in the Tennessee Overhill, located in the corner of Southeast Tennessee.



Through personal stories, interactive exhibits and a 360° movie, the Civil War Museum focuses on the war from the perspective of the Upper Middle West. www.thecivilwarmuseum.org



There's a place where a leisurely stroll might lead to an extraordinary historic home, a beautiful monastery or a lush peach orchard. That place is Georgia. ExploreGeorgia.org/HistoricHeartland



Confederate Memorial Park is the site of Alabama's only Home for Confederate veterans (1902-1939). The museum interprets Alabama's Confederate period and the Alabama Confederate Soldiers' Home.



Williamson County, Tennessee, is rich in Civil War history. Here, you can visit the Lotz House, Camton Plantation, Carter House, Fort Granger and Winstead Hill Park, among other historic locations.



Explore the Natchez Trace. Discover America. Journey along this 444-mile National Scenic Byway stretching from the Mississippi River in Natchez through Alabama and then Tennessee.



Come to Helena, Arkansas and see the Civil War like you've never seen it before. Plan your trip today! www.CivilWarHelena.com www.VisitHelenaAR.com



Join us as we commemorate the 150th anniversary of Knoxville's Civil War forts. Plan your trip today! www.knoxcivilwar.org

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Near Chattanooga, find glorious mountain scenery and heart-pounding white-water rafting. Walk in the footsteps of the Cherokee and discover a charming historic downtown.



Historic sites throughout the county throw their doors open the first Saturday of every month through October. Free admission! www.visitqueenannes.com



Sandy Springs, Georgia, is the perfect hub for exploring Metro Atlanta's Civil War sites. Conveniently located near major highways, you'll see everything from Sandy Springs!



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Hip and historic Frederick County boasts unique shopping and dining experiences, battlefields, museums, covered bridges, and abundant outdoor recreation. Request a free travel packet!



If you're looking for an easy stroll through a century of fine architecture or a trek down dusty roads along the Blues Trail, you've come to the right place. www.visitgreenwood.com



Southern hospitality at its finest, the Classic South, Georgia, offers visitors a combination of history and charm mixed with excursion options for everyone from outdoorsmen to museum-goers.



Relive the rich history of the Alabama Gulf Coast at Fort Morgan, Fort Gaines, the USS Alabama Battleship, and the area's many museums. **Fort-Morgan.org • 888-666-9252**



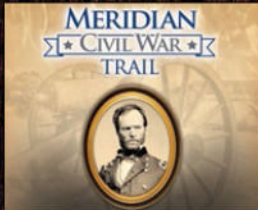
Just 15 miles south of downtown Atlanta lies the heart of the true South: Clayton County, Georgia, where heritage comes alive! vv



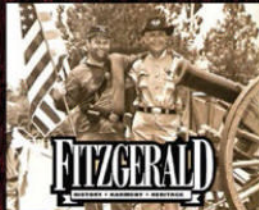
St. Mary's County, Maryland. Visit Point Lookout, site of the war's largest prison camp, plus Confederate and USCT monuments. A short drive from the nation's capital.



Vicksburg, Mississippi is a great place to bring your family to learn American history, enjoy educational museums and check out the mighty Mississippi River.



Follow the Civil War Trail in Meridian, Mississippi, where you'll experience history first-hand, including Merrehope Mansion, Marion Confederate Cemetery and more. www.visitmeridian.com



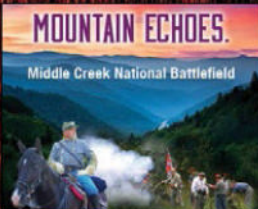
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EARTH ADVOCATE EXTRAORDINAIRE

BY SARAH
RICHARDSON

Multifaceted genius George Perkins Marsh,
19th-century chronicler of climate change



COULD ANYONE DREAM UP THE LIFE

of George Perkins Marsh? He survived mysterious bouts with blindness as well as the deaths of his first wife and child. Learned 20 languages. Became a lawyer, and in his spare time assembled an Icelandic grammar—an expression of a lifelong fascination with the Goths of Scandinavia. Represented Vermont in Congress, and meanwhile guided the design of the Washington Monument and incubated the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution. Reported on the artificial propagation of fish for the Vermont legislature and made the case for preserving the environment to local farmers. Served as diplomat to Turkey, Greece and Italy. Most distinguished of all: Wrote *Man and Nature: or Physical Geogra-*

phy as modified by human action.

With that 1864 book Marsh made his name as an environmental visionary. His now 150-year-old observations stand among the first descriptions of humans' disruptive stamp upon the Earth, a harbinger of the dire climate-change threat that drew some 200 nations to convene in Paris in December 2015 to address human pollution of the Earth's oceans and atmosphere.

Growing up in Vermont, Marsh took note of how runoff from nearby farms eroded stream banks and how the clearing of forests and wetlands altered weather. In an 1847 address before the Agricultural Society of Vermont, he said, "Man cannot at his pleasure command the rain and the sunshine, the wind and

Vermont Visionary

Marsh's observations of his own rural surroundings, the rapidly changing landscape and loss of once abundant wildlife revealed humans' harsh impact on nature.





He spelled out what is now known as an ecosystem, writing: "All Nature is linked together by invisible bonds and every organic creature, however low, however feeble, however dependent, is necessary to the well-being of some other among the myriad forms of life."

Although pioneering naturalists Charles Darwin and Alexander Humboldt were also deciphering nature's complexities, Marsh felt neither man recognized the depth of the human imprint on the Earth. In a letter to a friend Marsh described his thesis: "Whereas Ritter and Guyot [American geographers] think that the earth made man, man in fact made the earth." In his book he elaborated: "The destructive agency of man becomes more and more energetic and unsparing as he advances in civilization, until the impoverishment, with which his exhaustion of the natural resources of the soil is threatening him, at last awakens him to the necessity of preserving what is left, if not restoring what has been wantonly wasted."

Marsh completed his book in Italy, where he lived 20 years as U.S. ambassador until his death in 1882. He shaped American scientific development nonetheless: He was a lifelong friend of the scientist-curator Spencer Fullerton Baird, whom he helped appoint as the second director of the Smithsonian Institution and who would go on to establish the Oceanographic Institute at Woods Hole, Mass., now one of the world's premier research facilities. A quarter of a century ago, Clark University, in Worcester, Mass., the nation's oldest research university, created the George Perkins Marsh Institute, devoted to studying the relationship between humans and the Earth and conducting research on the Arctic, the oceans, climate change and the development of a sustainable society.

But Marsh wasn't a dour Cassandra. In an 1859 note to Baird he wrote: "Whereas I used to be a conversable, and, I say it boldly, a witty person, I am grown the dullest old owl in Christendom." In an 1865 letter: "It were not for a run now & then into the Alps, which are my Paradise, I should die of vexation at the devilries which are going on around me. When I am rich, I will dig me a hole in a glacier and live there, having a good stove and all things comfortable about me." ★

HE COULD NOT HELP BUT NOTICE THAT TREELESS EXPANSES STOOD WHERE THE BIBLE AND CLASSICAL LITERATURE DESCRIBED RICH FORESTS. ONLY THE ACTIONS OF HUMANS COULD EXPLAIN THE CHANGE, HE REALIZED.

frost and snow, yet it is certain that climate itself has in many instances been gradually changed and ameliorated or deteriorated by human action. The draining of swamps and the clearing of forests perceptibly effect the evaporation from the earth." Later, aided by a classical education and travels in the Mediterranean, he could not help but notice that treeless expanses stood where the Bible and classical literature described rich forests. Only the actions of humans could explain the eradication, he realized.

Of course, in 19th-century America it did not take a genius to note the sweeping loss of animals large and small, from the miles-long herds of bison that had darkened the plains to the gigantic flocks of birds that had darkened the skies. But Marsh detailed the impact, noting, for example, that without birds to prey upon them, insects proliferate, threatening the crops farmers worked so hard to cultivate.

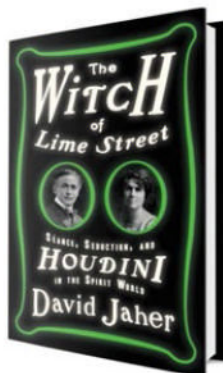


Linked Lives

Marsh came to see that even trees as mighty as Yosemite's giant redwoods were part of a fragile web.

DEAD MEN TALKING: A PSYCHIC SHOWDOWN

***The Witch of Lime Street: Seance, Seduction and Houdini in the Spirit World* by David Jaher (Crown Publishers)**



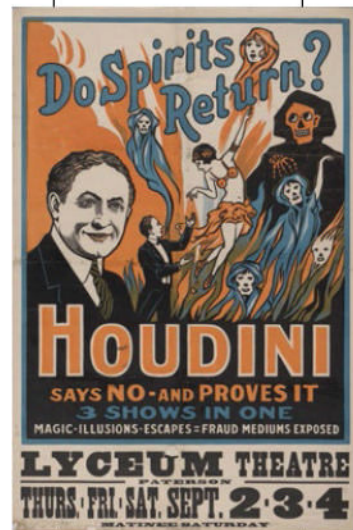
Nearly 100 years ago, America was gripped by occult fever. The vast death toll from the Great War had sparked a mainstream spiritualism craze. A raft of psychics and spirit mediums popped up to offer their peculiar form of comfort to the bereaved. They claimed to inhabit, as David Jaher writes in *The Witch of Lime Street*, the gauzy “borderland where the living and dead might mingle.” Clairvoyants claimed they could communicate with the deceased through séances, Ouija boards and automatic writing. Eminent men debated the idea of immortality, some giving credence to flimflammers.

Jaher details the fascinating battle of wills that occurred in 1923 when *Scientific American* created a contest to determine if there were any authentic mediums in the country. It offered two \$2,500 prizes to the first people to produce visible physical manifestations emanating from the dead. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, creator of the logical Sherlock Holmes, had persuaded the magazine to launch the investigation. He’d lost an Army son to the flu, believed in spirit mediumship, promoted it on speaking tours in America and wanted it to be validated scientifically. *Scientific American* recruited a group of reputable men, some of them scientists, to assess the contestants. After dismissing a few obvious quacks, the judges became split over a bewitching Boston medium known as Margery. She was popular and convincing and seemed destined to win the prize until escape artist Harry Houdini stepped forward to assess her supernatural talents. Margery (Mina Le Roi Crandon) wasn’t a typical medium. Married to a professor of surgery at Harvard, she was a youthful blonde—attractive and flirtatious. She’d attended a couple of séances, out of curiosity, and then became a

medium herself—channeling her late brother, Walter. At her Boston home, she mesmerized séance participants with brash commentary from Walter. Tables moved, a bell rang, the piano played—all in the dark that mediums conveniently required. Then, Margery started producing “ectoplasm,” ghostly essence

that supposedly originated in her nether region. Astoundingly, the judges spent seven months studying her. She was escorted to Harvard for séance sessions; photographs were taken. Meanwhile, she had a fling with one of the judges, and the man supervising the contest, *Scientific American* managing editor Malcolm Bird, was so smitten that he lobbied the judges on her behalf.

It was left to Houdini to bring some sense to the deliberations. He was an expert on illusions and tricks and had flirted with the occult himself, trying futilely to contact his beloved mother. Houdini observed Margery at one séance, then built a special “spirit cabinet,” what he called a “fraud preventer,” for her to sit in at a second. It limited her movement, and nothing happened at that séance. Houdini determined that Margery was merely very good at using her arms, legs and feet in the dark to create effects. (The “ectoplasm” was animal intestines.) Swayed by Houdini, the judges denied her the prize, sparking a dispute between Houdini and Crandon’s husband, Bird and Doyle. Houdini, disgusted by charlatans, began a crusade against quacks and started demonstrating Margery’s tricks at his shows. Jaher’s research is impressive but he devotes too much space to things that go bump in the night. In the end, we learn that facts don’t dissuade those determined to believe—and that beauty and sexual allure can cloud the judgment of even those paid to separate fact from fiction. Houdini, master showman, was the exception. **Richard Ernsberger Jr.**



Fraud Buster

Harry Houdini, the ultimate expert on the art of illusion, exposed the tricks of a beguiling Boston medium and then launched a campaign against the charlatans who claimed to communicate with the dead.

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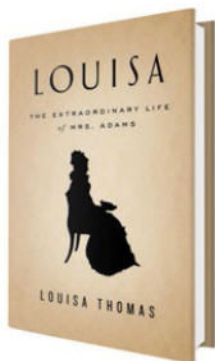
A FIRST LADY WITH CHARM AND FORTITUDE

Louisa The Extraordinary Life of Mrs. Adams by Louisa Thomas (Penguin Press)

There are two blended pleasures in a new biography of Louisa Catherine Johnson, the English-born woman who married John Quincy Adams, America's sixth president. The main pleasure is that Louisa Adams consumes us as a demure yet dazzling woman, a somewhat overlooked first lady who is as vulnerable and fragile as she is complex and spirited. One cannot get enough of her.

The other treat in Louisa Thomas' *Louisa: The Extraordinary Life of Mrs. Adams* is the extraordinary voice of the author. Thomas's unusual, enchanting choice of words, together with her subject's strenuous and glamorous life, make this book an unlikely page turner, in which Louisa, along with her fascinating peers, jumps colorfully to life. "She was surprised by how much surprised her," writes Thomas about Louisa and John's bittersweet arrival in Berlin in 1797, the year of their marriage. He was the newly appointed U.S. envoy to Prussia; Louisa was pregnant and deeply anguished by the separation from her family. Still, she rebounded in the foreign city: "There was something fresh about those experiences, something that made her mind reach even as she recoiled. She could not help but be curious."

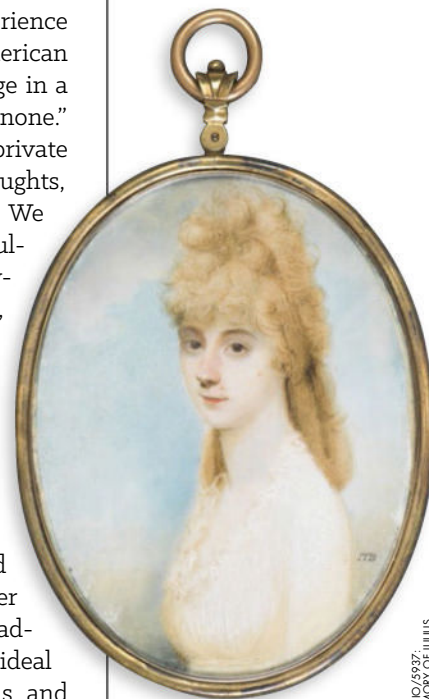
From the age of 14, John Quincy Adams, son of the second president, served the United States in various diplomatic posts. And as soon as they were married, Louisa went with him—to Prussia, England, Tsarist Russia and throughout Europe. Few women at the turn of the 18th century traveled the world as she did. She and John met in 1795 at the elegant London home of Louisa's parents—Joshua Johnson, an American, and his English wife, Catherine. Joshua was a merchant and trader whose brother Thomas would become governor of Maryland and a Supreme Court justice. Louisa, 20, was intelligent and self-assured. John Quincy



was 28, an intense and handsome man who was already a high-ranking American foreign official. He would return to the Johnson home, drawn to the family's warm gatherings, and to Louisa. "He was unusual," writes Thomas, "but then there were ways in which [the Johnsons] were unusual too—and perhaps Louisa most of all."

Living abroad as a foreign minister's wife, Louisa faced formidable royal courts that scrutinized her with a mix of skepticism and curiosity. Louisa, educated, amiable and pretty, not only held her own but found friends—even allies—among the women in Europe's highest social circles. She could not help but take that experience home, where she found the naive American governing class "grasping for privilege in a society that only pretended to award none."

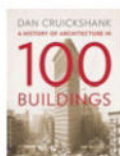
Thomas draws heavily on the private diaries, and thus the personal thoughts, of Louisa and John to tell her story. We learn that Louisa suffered gracefully through years of treacherous travel, difficult separations from family, chronic illnesses and, especially, the early deaths of all but one of the couple's four children. John's one-term presidency, starting in 1825, was a "miserable situation" for Louisa. She lived mostly in Boston while her husband was in Washington. But their marriage survived and afterward Louisa "was once again her husband's greatest champion and advocate." Indeed, the two were an ideal match—dutiful patriots, best friends and survivors who loved each other. They were married for more than 50 years and died just four years apart—Louisa at 78, in 1852. After John's death Louisa "continued to claim her own death was imminent," writes Thomas, "even though she had long since proven herself to be one of those women who looks breakable but endures and endures." *Daisy Ridgway Khalifa*



Unbreakable
The only foreign-born first lady, Louisa Adams endured many hardships in her life at the side of John Q. Adams.

JOHN THOMAS BARBER, CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM, OHIO/5937; LOUISA ADAMS, CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM, OHIO/5937; FLEISCHMAN/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

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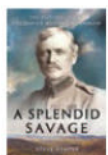
Part of Our Lives: A People's History of the American Public Library, by Wayne A. Wiegand (Oxford University Press)

Not long ago there were dire predictions that public libraries would soon disappear. It hasn't happened. Two out of three Americans visit one of the country's more than 17,000 public libraries at least once a year. Wiegand's dense but richly informative book delves into why we love our libraries, tracing their history and featuring records and testimonies from as early as 1850.



Paradise Now: The Story of American Utopianism, by Chris Jennings (Random House)

Shakers, Owenites, Fourierists, Icarians: In the young United States, radical politicians, religious leaders and secular intellectuals saw the country as a blank canvas on which to realize their revolutionary visions of the future. Jennings illuminates the optimism and lunatic creativity of 19th-century utopianism, whose leaders rather naively insisted the world would follow their lead.



A Splendid Savage: The Restless Life of Frederick Russell Burnham, by Steve Kemper (W.W. Norton)

Recounting the adventurous life of Frederick Burnham, a tracker for the U.S. Army in the Apache Wars who later fought for the British in Rhodesia and South Africa. Burnham was invested by King Edward VII in the Companions of the Distinguished Service Order. A good read about a classic colonialist.

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In 1968 blues-rock singer and former painter Janis Joplin bought a used gray Cabriolet for \$3,500 and paid her friend Dave Richard \$500 to customize it in bright colors. Joplin's siblings sold the vehicle at Sotheby's in December. Adorning the car are depictions of Joplin's zodiac sign, Capricorn; Joplin with her band, Big Brother and the Holding Company; a mountain landscape; butterflies; jellyfish; and, on the hood, the "Eye of God." Since 1995 the car—its paintwork meticulously restored—had been on display at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland. On October 4, 1970, when the 27-year-old Joplin died of a heroin overdose in Hollywood, her Porsche was parked at her hotel. Her brother said that she drove it "top down and feathers flying." ★

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